

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled,
and at this time are fulfilling
in the world.

By *THOMAS NEWTON*, D.D.

Now Lord Bishop of BRISTOL.

IN THREE VOLUMES:

VOLUME the FIRST.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

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TO HIS GRACE the
LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF
CANTERBURY.

May it please Your GRACE,

WITH Your wonted condescension and goodness, to accept this offering from my hands, as a testimony of my veneration for Your GRACE, and of my gratitude for your favors to me. A work of this kind I could not indeed address to any one so properly as to Your GRACE, on account of your eminent station, and much more on account of your amiable qualities, and more still as I have the hap-

DEDICATION.

piness to live under your peculiar jurisdiction: and Your GRACE is very kind in permitting me to inscribe it to Your Name, which kindness I will not abuse with the usual stile of dedications. Your GRACE's virtues are so well known, and so universally esteemed, as to stand in need of no commendation, and much less of mine.

I would rather beg leave to apprise Your GRACE, and the reader, of the design of these dissertations: which is not to treat of the prophecies in general, nor even of those prophecies in particular, which were fulfilled in the person and actions of our Saviour; but only of such as relate more immediately to these later ages, and are in some measure receiving their accomplishment at this time. What first suggested the design, were some conversations formerly with a great General *, who had for many years the chief commands in the army, and was a man of good understanding, and of

* Marshal *Wade*.

some

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some reading, but unhappily had no great regard for revealed religion or the clergy. When the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, he constantly derided the notion, asserted that there was no such thing, and that the prophecies which were pretended were written after the events. He was informed, that tho' such a thing might with less scruple and more confidence be affirmed of some prophecies fulfilled long ago, yet it could never be proved of any, the contrary might be proved almost to a demonstration: but it could not be so much as affirmed of several prophecies without manifest absurdity; for there were several prophecies in scripture, which were not fulfilled till these later ages, and were fulfilling even now, and consequently could not be framed after the events, but undeniably were written and published many ages before. He was startled at this, and said he must acknowledge, that if this point could be proved to satisfaction, there would be no

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arguing against such plain matter of fact; it would certainly convince him, and he believed would be the readiest way to convince every reasonable man, of the truth of revelation.

It was this occasion, my LORD, that first gave rise to these dissertations, which were originally drawn up in the form of some sermons. But since that time they have been new-modeled, much altered and much enlarged, and confirmed by proper authorities. And tho' some of them only are here published, yet each dissertation may be considered as a distinct treatise by itself. It is hoped indeed, that the whole, like an arch, will add strength and firmness to each part; but at the same time care hath been taken, that the parts should have strength in themselves, as well as a relation to the whole, and a connection with each other. The publication therefore of some parts cannot be improper; and the others shall go to the press, so soon as an indifferent share of health, constant

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constant preaching twice a day, and other necessary duties and avocations will permit me to put the finishing hand to them.

Every reader must know, Your GRACE and every scholar must know more especially, that such works are not to be precipitated. They require time and learned leisure, great reading and great exactness, being disquisitions of some of the most curious points of history, as well as explications of some of the most difficult passages of scripture. And I should not presume to offer any of them to Your GRACE, or to submit them to the public censure, if they had not been first perused and corrected by some of my friends, and particularly by three of the best scholars, and ablest critics of this age, Bishop Pearce, Dr. Warburton, and Dr. Jortin; who were also my friendly coadjutors in my edition of Milton; and as they excel in all good learning themselves, so they are very ready to promote and assist the well-meant endeavors of others.

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When the other parts shall appear, they shall likewise beg Your GRACE's patronage and protection. And in the mean time may Your GRACE's health be re-established, and continue many years for the good of this church and nation! It is nothing to say that it is my earnest wish: It is the wish of all mankind: but of none more ardently than,

May it please your GRACE,

Your GRACE's most dutiful,

and obliged,

and obedient Servant,

Oct. 5, 1754.

THOMAS NEWTON.

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CONTRACT
The first part of the work is a history of the progress of the human mind, and the second part is a history of the progress of the human soul.
Secunda pars (historiæ ecclesiasticæ) quæ est historia ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis constat, prophetia ipsa et ejus adimptione. Quapropter tale esse debet hujus operis institutum, ut cum singulis ex scripturis prophetiis eventuum veritas conjungatur; idque per omnes mundi ætates, tum ad confirmationem fidei, tum ad instituendam disciplinam quandam et peritiam in interpretatione prophetiarum, quæ adhuc restant complendæ. Attamen in hac re, admittenda est illa latitudo, quæ divinis vaticiniis propria est et familiaris; ut adimptiones eorum non fiant et continenter et punctualiter: referunt enim authoris sui naturam; *cui unus dies tanquam mille anni, et mille anni tanquam unus dies*: Atque licet plenitudo et fastigium complementi eorum, plerunque alicui certæ ætati, vel etiam certo momento destinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos et scalas complementi, per diversas mundi ætates. Hoc opus desiderari statuo, verum tale est, ut magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia tractandum sit, aut omnino dimittendum.

Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. 2. Cap. 11.



DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

Which have remarkably been fulfilled,
and at this time are fulfilling
in the world.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the strongest evidences for the truth of revealed religion is that series of prophecies which is preserved in the Old and New Testament; and a greater service perhaps could not be done to Christianity than to lay together the several predictions of scripture with their completions, to show how particularly things have been foretold,

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and

and how exactly fulfilled. A work of this kind was desired by the Lord Bacon in his (1) Advancement of Learning: and he intitleth it *the history of prophecy*, and therein would have
 “ every prophecy of the scripture be sorted with
 “ the event fulfilling the same throughout the
 “ ages of the world both for the better confir-
 “ mation of faith,” as he saith, “ and for the
 “ better illumination of the church, touching
 “ those parts of prophecies which are yet unful-
 “ filled: allowing nevertheless that latitude which
 “ is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophe-
 “ cies, being of the nature of the author with
 “ whom a thousand years are but as one day,
 “ and therefore they are not fulfilled punctually
 “ at once, but have springing and germinant ac-
 “ complishment throughout many ages, though
 “ the highth or fulness of them may refer to
 “ some one age.”

Such a work would indeed be a wonderful confirmation of our faith, it being the prerogative of God alone, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events; and the consequence is so plain and necessary, from the believing of prophecies to the believing

(1) Book the 2d. in English.

THE PROPHECIES.

believing of revelation, that an infidel hath no way of evading the conclusion but by denying the premises. But why should it be thought at all incredible for God upon special occasions to foretel future events? or how could a divine revelation (only supposing that there was a divine revelation) be better attested and confirmed than by prophecies? It is certain that God hath perfect and most exact knowlege of futurity, and foresees all things to come as well as comprehends every thing past or present. It is certain too that as he knoweth them perfectly himself, so he may reveal them to others in what degrees and proportions he pleaseth; and that he actually hath revealed them in several instances, no man can deny, every man must acknowlege, who compares the several prophecies of scripture with the events fulfilling the same.

But so many ages have passed since the spirit of prophecy hath ceased in the world, that several persons are apt to imagin, that no such thing ever existed, and that what we call predictions are only histories written, after the events had happened, in a prophetic stile and manner: which is easily said indeed, but hath never been proved, nor is there one tolerable

argument to prove it. On the contrary there are all the proofs and authorities, which can be had in cases of this nature, that the prophets prophesied in such and such ages, and the events happened afterwards in such and such ages: and you have as much reason to believe these, as you have to believe any ancient matters of fact whatever; and by the same rule that you deny these, you might as well deny the credibility of all ancient history.

But such is the temper and genius of infidels; *they understand neither what they say; nor whereof they affirm*; and so betray their own ignorance, rather than acknowledge the force of divine truth; and assert things without the least shadow or color of proof, rather than admit the strongest proofs of divine revelation. It betrays ignorance indeed, altogether unworthy of persons of liberal education, not to know when such and such authors flourished, and such and such remarkable events happened; and it must be something worse than ignorance to assert things without the least shadow or color of proof, contrary to all the marks and characters by which we judge of the truth and genuineness of ancient authors, contrary to the whole

tenor

tenor of history both sacred and profane, which in this respect give wonderful light and assistance to each other: and yet these are the men, who would be thought to see farther and to know more than other people, and will believe nothing without evident proof and demonstration.

The facts, say they, were prior to the predictions, and the prophecies were written after the histories. But what if we should be able to prove the truth of prophecy, and consequently the truth of revelation, not by an induction of particulars long ago foretold and long ago fulfilled, the predictions whereof you may therefore suppose to have been written after the histories, but by instances of things which have confessedly many ages ago been foretold, and have in these later ages been fulfilled, or are fulfilling at this very time; so that you cannot possibly pretend the prophecies to have been written after the events, but must acknowledge the events many ages after to correspond exactly with the predictions many ages before? This province we will now enter upon, this task we will undertake, and will not only produce instances of things foretold with the greatest clear-

ness in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greatest exactness in ages following, if there is any truth in history sacred or profane ; but we will also (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) insist chiefly upon such prophecies, as are known to have been written and published in books many ages ago, and yet are receiving their completion, in part at least, at this very day.

For this is one great excellency of the evidence drawn from prophecy for the truth of religion, that it is a *growing* evidence ; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more testimonies there are and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation. And in this respect we have eminently the advantage over those, who lived even in the days of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles. They were happy indeed in hearing their discourses and seeing their miracles, and doubtless *many righteous men have desired to see those things which they saw and have not seen them, and to hear those things which they heard and have not heard them* : (Mat. XIII. 17.) but yet I say we have this advantage over them, that several things, which were then only foretold, are now fulfilled ;

filled; and what were to them only matters of faith, are become matters of fact and certainty to us, upon whom the latter ages of the world are come. Miracles may be said to have been the great proofs of revelation to the first ages who saw them performed, Prophecies may be said to be the great proofs of revelation to the last ages who see them fulfilled. All pretence too for denying the prophecies of scripture is by these means absolutely precluded; for how can it be pretended that the prophecies were written after the events, when it appears that the latest of these prophecies were written and published in books near 1700 years ago, and the events have, many of them, been accomplished several ages after the predictions, or perhaps are accomplishing in the world at this present time? You are therefore reduced to this necessity, that you must either renounce your senses, and deny what you may read in your bibles, together with what you may see and observe in the world: or else must acknowledge the truth of prophecy, and in consequence of that the truth of divine revelation.

Most of the principal prophecies of scripture will by these means come under our consideration, and they may best be considered with a view to the series and order of time. The subject is curious as it is important, and will be very well worth *my* pains and *your* attention: and though it turn chiefly upon points of learning, yet I shall endeavor to render it as intelligible, and agreeable, and edifying as I can to all sorts of readers. It is hoped the work will prove the more generally acceptable, as it will not consist merely of abstract speculative divinity, but will be invivened with a proper intermixture of history, and will include several of the most material transactions from the beginning of the world to this day.





DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
PROPHECIES.

I.

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

THE first prophecy that occurs in scripture, is that part of the sentence pronounced upon the serpent, which is, as I may say, the first opening of Christianity, the first promise of our redemption. We read in Genesis (III. 15.) *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* If you understand

stand this in the sense which is commonly put upon it by christian interpreters, you have a remarkable prophecy, and remarkably fulfilled. Taken in any other sense, it is not worthy of Moses, nor indeed of any sensible writer.

The history of the antediluvian times is very short and concise, and there are only a few prophecies relating to the deluge. As Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the old world, so he was a prophet to the new, and was enabled to predict the future condition of his posterity, which is a subject that upon many accounts requires a particular discussion.

It is an excellent character that is given of Noah, (Gen. VI. 9.) *Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.* But the best of men are not without their infirmities; and Noah (Gen. IX. 20, &c.) having *planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine*, became inebriated, not knowing perhaps the nature and strength of the liquor, or being through age incapable of bearing it: and Moses is so faithful

(1) כָּטָן *katan*, parvus, minor, minimus.

(2) Hinc probabiliter colligitur eum fuisse paternæ iniquitatis socium. Piscator apud Polum.

(3) Vid. Origen. in Genesim. p. 33. vol. 2. Edit. Benedikt. Operose quæritur, cur Chami maledictionem in caput filii Chanaan contorserit. Respondet Theodoretus in Genes. quæst.

faithful an historian, that he records the failings and imperfections of the most venerable patriarchs, as well as their merits and virtues. Noah in this condition lay *uncovered within his tent*: and Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father; and instead of concealing his weakness, as a good-natured man or at least a dutiful son would have done, he cruelly exposed it to his two brethren without. But Shem and Japheth, more compassionate to the infirmities of their aged father, took a garment and went backward with such decency and respect, that they saw not the nakedness of their father at the same time that they covered it. When Noah awoke from his wine, he was informed of what his younger son had done unto him. The (1) word in the original signifies his little son: and some (2) commentators therefore, on account of what follows, have imagined that Canaan joined with his father Ham in this mockery and insult upon Noah; and the (3) Jewish rabbins have a tradition, that Canaan was the first who saw Noah in this posture,

quæst. 57. ab Hebræo quodam se didicisse primum Chanaan avi sui verenda animadvertisse, et patri ostentasse, tanquam de se se ridentem. Et vero tale

quid legitur in Beresith Rabba sect. 37. qui liber scriptus fuit diu ante Theodoretum. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 37. Col. 308.

(4) The

posture; and then went and called his father Ham, and concurred with him in ridiculing and exposing the old man. But this is a very arbitrary method of interpretation; no mention was made before of Canaan and of what he had done, but only of *Ham the father of Canaan*; and of him therefore must the phrase of *little son* or *youngest son* be naturally and necessarily understood.

In consequence of this different behaviour of his three sons, Noah as a patriarch was enlightened, and as the father of a family who is to reward or punish his children was impowered, to foretel the different fortunes of their families: for this prophecy relates not so much to themselves, as to their posterity, the people and nations descended from them. He was not prompted by wine or resentment; for neither the one nor the other could infuse the knowledge of futurity, or inspire him with the prescience of events, which happened hundreds, nay thousands of years afterwards. But God, willing to manifest his superintendence and government of the world, indued Noah with the spirit of prophecy, and enabled him in some measure to disclose the purposes of his providence

(4) The reader may see this very ingenious and learned Mr. point proved at large in the Archdeacon Lowth's poetical Prælections

dence towards the future race of mankind. At the same time it was some comfort and reward to Shem and Japheth, for their reverence and tenderness to their father, to hear of the *blessing* and *inlargement* of their posterity; and it was some mortification and punishment to Ham, for his mockery and cruelty to his father, to hear of the *malediction* and *servitude* of some of his children, and that as he was a wicked son himself, so a wicked race should spring from him.

This then was Noah's prophecy: and it was delivered, as (4) most of the ancient prophecies were delivered, in metre for the help of the memory. (Gen. IX. 25, 26, 27.)

Cursed be Canaan.

A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;

And Canaan shall be their servant.

God shall enlarge Japheth.

And shall dwell in the tents of Shem,

And Canaan shall be their servant.

Canaan was the fourth son of Ham according to the order wherein they are mentioned in the
ensuing

Prælections (particularly Prælection. 18.) &c. a work that merits the attention of all who study the Hebrew language, and of the clergy especially.

(5) Noa

ensuing chapter. And for what reason can you believe that Canaan was so particularly marked out for the curse? for his father Ham's transgression? But where would be the justice or equity to pass by Ham himself with the rest of his children, and to punish only Canaan for what Ham had committed? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections; and we may say in this case what was said in another, (Gen. XVIII. 25.) *Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?* The curse was so far from being pronounced upon Canaan for his father Ham's transgression, that we do not read that it was pronounced for his own, nor was executed till several hundred years after his death. The truth is, the curse is to be understood not so properly of Canaan, as of his descendents to the latest generations. It is thinking meanly of the ancient prophecies of scripture, and having very imperfect, very unworthy conceptions of them, to limit their intention to particular persons. In this view the ancient prophets would be really what the Deists think them, little better than common fortune-tellers; and their prophecies would hardly be worth remembring or recording, especially in so concise and compendious a history as that of Moses. We must affix a larger

larger meaning to them, and understand them not of single persons, but of whole nations; and thereby a nobler scene of things, and a more extensive prospect will be opened to us of the divine dispensations. The curse of *servitude* pronounced upon Canaan, and so likewise the promise of *blessing* and *inlargement* made to Shem and Japheth, are by no means to be confined to their own persons, but extend to their whole race; as afterwards the prophecies concerning Ishmael, and those concerning Esau and Jacob, and those relating to the twelve patriarchs, were not so properly verified in themselves as in their posterity, and thither we must look for their full and perfect completion. The curse therefore upon Canaan was properly a curse upon the Canaanites. God foreseeing the wickedness of this people, (which began in their father Ham, and greatly increased in this branch of his family) commissioned Noah to pronounce a curse upon them, and to devote them to the servitude and misery, which their more than common vices and iniquities would deserve. And this account was plainly written by Moses, for the encouragement of the Israelites, to support and animate them in their expedition against a people, who by their sins had forfeited the divine protection, and

and were destined to slavery from the days of Noah.

We see the purport and meaning of the prophecy, and now let us attend to the completion of it. *Cursed be Canaan*; and the Canaanites appear to have been an abominably wicked people. The sin and punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain are too well known to be particularly specified: and for the other inhabitants of the land, which was promised to Abraham and his seed, God bore with them *till their iniquity was full*. (Gen. XV. 16.) They were not only addicted to idolatry, which was then the case of the greater part of the world, but were guilty of the worst sort of idolatry; *for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods*. (Deut. XII. 31.) Their religion was bad, and their morality (if possible) was worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other. Read the 18th and the 20th chapters of Leviticus, and you will find that unlawful marriages and unlawful lusts, witchcraft, adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, and the like monstrous enormities were frequent and common among them. And was not a *curse*

in the nature of things, as well as in the just judgment of God, deservedly intailed upon such a people and nation as this? It was not *for their own righteousness* that the Lord brought the Israelites in to possess the land: but *for the wickedness of these nations* did the Lord drive them out: (Deut. IX. 4.) and he would have driven out the Israelites in like manner for the very same abominations. (Levit. XVIII. 24, &c.) *Defile not you yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations—That the land spue not you out also when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you. For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them, shall be cut off from among their people.*

But the curse particularly implies servitude and subjection. *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* It is very well known that the word *brethren* in Hebrew comprehends more distant relations. The descendents therefore of Canaan were to be subject to the descendents of both Shem and

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Japheth:

Japheth : and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is slavery. The same thing is repeated again and again in the two following verses, *and Canaan shall be servant to them, or their servant* ; so that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some (5) critics take the phrase of *servant of servants* strictly and literally, and say that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became servants to the Israelites, who had been servants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much ; the phrase of (6) *servant of servants* is of the same turn and cast as *holy of holies, king of kings, song of songs*, and the like expressions in scripture ; and imports that they should be the lowest and basest of servants.

We cannot be certain as to the time of the delivery of this prophecy ; for the history of Moses is so concise, that it hath not gratified us in this particular. If the prophecy was delivered soon after the transactions, which immediately precede in the history, Noah's *beginning to be a husbandman, and planting a vineyard*, it was soon after the deluge, and then Canaan

was

(5) Noa Chamum execratus prædixerat fore ut ejus posterij servi essent servorum : atque id impletum in Chananæis, tum eum subire coacti sunt Israeli-

tarum jugum qui Ægyptiis diu servierant. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Col. 3, 4.

(6) S. Pompeius, studiis rudis, libertorum suorum libertus,

servorumque

was prophesied of before he was born, as it was prophesied of Esau and Jacob (Gen. XXV. 23.) *the elder shall serve the younger*, before the children were born and had done either good or evil, as St. Paul saith. (Rom. IX. 11.) If the prophecy was delivered a little before the transactions, which immediately follow in the history, it was a little before Noah's death, and he was enlightened in his last moments as Jacob was, to foretel what should befall his posterity in the latter days. (Gen. XLIX. 1.) However this matter be determined, it was several centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were descendants of Shem, under the command of Joshua invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, slew several of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards subdued the rest. (2 Chron. VIII. 7, 8, 9.) *As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; but of their children who were left after them in the land,*

servorumque servus; speciosis invidens ut pareret humillimis. Velleius Pat. II. 73. Hic vero valet postremus servorum. Vid. Sallust Fragm. Id. Velle-

ius II. 83. Infra servos cliens. —From some M. S. notes of Mr. Wasse's in the hands of Dr. Jortin.

land, whom the children of Israel consumed not; them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work: but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen. The Greeks and Romans too, who were descendents of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for instance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. "This fate," says (7) Mr. Mede, "was it that made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginiis, I acknowledge the fortune of Carthage.*" And ever since the miserable remainder of this people have been slaves to a foreign yoke, first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth;

(7) Mede's Works B. 1. Disc. 50. p. 284. Livy Lib. 27. in fine.

(8) Maledictus pater Canaan &c. Arab.

(9) Les Septante dans quelques exemplaires au lieu de Canaan, lisent Cham, comme si le texte qui porte Canaan etoit

corrompu. Calmet on the text. So Ainsworth too.

(1) Quidam subaudiunt *in* pater, quod paulo ante bis expressum est, Maledictus Cham pater Chananæorum. Vatab. in locum.

(2) My

Japheth; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

Hitherto we have explained the prophecy according to the present copies of our bible: but if we were to correct the text, as we should any ancient classic author in a like case, the whole perhaps might be made easier and plainer. *Ham the father of Canaan* is mentioned in the preceding part of the story; and how then came the person of a sudden to be changed into *Canaan*? The (8) Arabic version in these three verses hath *the father of Canaan* instead of *Canaan*. Some (9) copies of the Septuagint likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if *Canaan* was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others (1) by *Canaan* understand *the father of Canaan*, which was expressed twice before. And if we regard the metre, this line *Cursed be Canaan*, is much shorter than the rest, (2) as if something was deficient. May we not suppose therefore, (without taking such liberties as Father Houbigant hath with the Hebrew

(2) My suspicion hath since been confirmed by the reverend and learned Mr. Green, fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge; who is admirably well skilled in the Hebrew language and Hebrew metre, and hath given abundant proofs of his know-

lege and judgment in these matters in his new translation and commentary on the song of Deborah, the prayer of Habakkuk, &c. He asserts, that according to Bishop Hare's metre, the words *ham abi* are necessary to fill up the verse. He proposes

Hebrew text) that the copyist by mistake wrote only *Canaan* instead of *Ham the father of Canaan*, and that the whole passage was originally thus? *And Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.—And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Ham the father of Canaan shall be servant to them. God shall enlarge Japheth; and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Ham the father of Canaan shall be servant to them.*

By this reading all the three sons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwise Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only punished in one of his children. Ham is characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to invade the land of Canaan;

poses a farther emendation of another, and would read the text, by the omission of one whole prophecy thus, according to the metre.

And Noah said,
Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;

Canaan : and when it is said *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren* ; it is implied that his whole race was devoted to servitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. Ham at first subdued some of the posterity of Shem, as Canaan sometimes conquered Japheth ; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy : but in time they were to be subdued, and to become servants to Shem and Japheth ; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curse still more visible. Egypt was *the land of Ham*, as it is often called in scripture ; and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom : but it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who descended from Japheth ; and from that time to this it hath constantly been in

For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.
 God shall enlarge Japheth ;
 And Canaan shall be their servant.

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you must allow it to be probable and ingenious, to render the sense clearer and plainer, and to give to every part its just weight and proportion.

in subjection to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole continent of (3) Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham : and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks ? in what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, misery, live most of the inhabitants ? and of the poor negroes how many hundreds every year are sold and bought like beasts in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another ?

Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the sentence upon *Ham* as well as upon *Canaan* : and now let us consider the promises made to *Shem* and *Japheth*. *And he said* (ver. 26.) *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem ; and Canaan shall be his servant : or rather, and Canaan shall be servant to them, or their servant*, that is to his brethren ; for that, as we observed before, is the main part of the prophecy, and therefore is so frequently repeated. A learned (4) critic in the Hebrew language, who hath lately published some remarks on the printed Hebrew

text,

(3) Cham licet maledictus, in mundi divisione, illi præter non tamen fuit exclusus a terrenis benedictionibus — Quippe Ægyptum atque Africam universam Syriæ magna pars ob-

tigit

tigit &c.
4. Cap

text, saith that “ if it should be thought preferable to refer the word *blest* directly to “ *Shem*, as the word *curst* is to *Canaan*; the “ words may be (and perhaps more pertinent-ly) rendered—*Blest of Jehovah, my God, be Shem!* See Gen. XXIV. 31.” Or if we choose (as most perhaps will choose) to follow our own as well as all the ancient versions, we may observe that the old patriarch doth not say *Blest be Shem*, as he said, *Curst by Canaan*; for mens evil springeth of themselves, but their good from God: and therefore in a strain of devotion breaketh forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem. Neither doth he say the same to Japheth; for God certainly may dispense his particular favors according to his good pleasure, and salvation was to be derived to mankind thro’ Shem and his posterity. God prefers Shem to his elder brother Japheth, as Jacob was afterwards preferred to Esau, and David to his elder brothers, to show that the order of grace is not always the same as the order of nature. The Lord being called *the God of Shem* particularly, it is plainly intimated that the Lord would be *his God* in a
parti-

tigt &c. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib.
4. Cap. 1. Col. 203.

(4) See Kennicott’s Dissertation. p. 561.

(5) Bocharti

particular manner. And accordingly the church of God was among the posterity of Shem for several generations; and of *them* (Rom. IX. 5.) *as concerning the flesh Christ came.*

But still Japheth was not dismissed without a promise. (ver. 47.) *God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be servant to them, or their servant. God shall enlarge Japheth.* Some render the word (it is so rendered in the margin of our bibles) God shall *persuade* or *allure* Japheth, so that he shall come over to the true religion, *and dwell in the tents of Shem.* But the (5) best critics in the language have remarked, besides other reasons, that they who translate the word by *persuade* or *allure*, did not consider, that when it is so taken, it is used in a bad sense, and governs an accusative case, and not a dative as in this place. *God shall enlarge Japheth, or unto Japheth* is the best rendering; and in the original there is a manifest allusion to Japheth's name, such as is familiar to the Hebrew writers. As it was said of Noah, (Gen. V. 29.) *This same shall comfort us, the*

name

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149. Clericus in loc. &c.

(6) —is omnino assentior, qui per hæc verba volunt Japhetho promitti fore ut in terræ

divisione amplissimam illi portionem habitandam Deus assignet. Quod Deum abunde præstitisse statim agnoscet quisquis, præter Europam quanta quanta est, ad Japhethi portionem pertinere

name of *Noah* being thought to signify *comfort*: As it is said of *Judah*, (Gen. XLIX. 8.) *Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise*, and the name of *Judah* signifies *praise*: As it is said of *Dan*, (ver. 16.) *Dan shall judge his people*, and the name of *Dan* signifies *judging*: As it is said of *Gad*, (ver. 19.) *A troop shall overcome him*, and the name of *Gad* signifies a *troop* or company: So it is said here *God shall enlarge Japheth*, and the name of *Japheth* signifies *enlargement*. Was *Japheth* then more *enlarged* than the rest? Yes he was both in territory and in children. The territories of *Japheth's* posterity were indeed very large, for (6) besides all Europe, great and extensive as it is, they possessed the lesser Asia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians inhabited, and now the Tartars inhabit; and it is not improbable that the new world was peopled by some of his northern descendents passing thither by the straits of Anian. The *enlargement* of *Japheth* may also denote a numerous progeny as well as ample

tinere cogitabit, Asiam minorem, et Mediam, et Armeniæ partem, et Iberiam, et Albaniam, et vastissimas illas regiones ad Boream, quas olim Scythæ, hodiæ Tartari obtinent.

Ut de novo orbe taceam, in quem per fretum Anianis migrasse Scythas vero non est abissimile. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Col. 149.

(7) Et

ample territory : and if you consult the genealogies of the three brothers comprised in the following chapter, you will find that Japheth had *seven* sons, whereas Ham had only *four*, and Shem only *five* : and the northern hive (as Sir William Temple denominates it) was always remarkable for its fecundity, and hath been continually pouring forth swarms, and sending out colonies into the more southern parts, both in Europe and in Asia, both in former and in later times.

The following clause, *and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem*, is capable of a double construction ; for thereby may be meant either that *God* or that *Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem* ; *in the tents of Shem*, saith he speaking according to the simplicity of those times, when men dwelt in tents and not in houses. They who prefer the former construction, seem to have the authority of the original text on their side ; for there is no other noun to govern the verbs in the period, but *God* ; there is no pronoun in the Hebrew, answering to the *he* which is inserted in our English translation : and the whole sentence would run thus, *God will enlarge Japheth, and will dwell in the tents of Shem* : and the Chaldee of (7) Onkelos also thus

(7) Et habitare faciet gloriam suam in tabernaculis Sem.

(8) Ser

thus paraphraseth it, *and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem.* They who prefer the latter construction, seem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verse wholly to Japheth, as they refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and easy construction. Taken in either sense, the prophecy hath been most punctually fulfilled. In the former sense it was fulfilled literally, when the *Shechinah* or divine presence rested on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews; and when *the Word who was with God and was God* (John I. 1.) *εσκηνωσεν*, pitched his tent, *and dwelt among us.* (ver. 14.) In the latter sense it was fulfilled first, when the Greeks and Romans, who sprung originally from Japheth, subdued and possessed Judea and other countries of Asia belonging to Shem; and again spiritually, when they were profelyted to the true religion, and they who were not Israelites by birth, became Israelites by faith, and lived, as we and many others of Japheth's posterity do at this day, within the pale of the church of Christ.

What think you now? Is not this a most extraordinary prophecy; a prophecy that was delivered near four thousand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling thro' the several periods of

DISSERTATIONS ON

time to this day! It is both wonderful and instructive. It is the history of the world as it were in epitome. And hence we are enabled to correct a mistake of one author, and expose the petulance of another.

1. The first is the learned and excellent Mr. Mede, an author always to be read with improvement, and to be corrected with reverence: but yet I conceive, that he hath carried matters too far in ascribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For discoursing of the dispersions and habitations of the sons of Noah, he (8) saith that "there hath never yet been a son of Ham, who hath shaken a scepter over the head of Japheth: Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either:" and this passage hath been cited by several (9) commentators to illustrate this prophecy. But this worthy person surely did not recollect, that Nimrod, the first monarch in the world, was the son of Cush, who was the son of Ham, (Gen. X.) Misraim was another son of Ham; he was the father of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians detained the Israelites in bondage several years. Shishak king of Egypt subdued Rehoboam

(3) See Mede's Works, B. 1. Disc. 49 and 50. p. 283. Edit. 1672.

(9) Patrick,

Rehoboam king of Judah. (1 Kings XIV.) Sesostris king of Egypt (the same probably as Shishak) conquered great part of Europe and of Asia, if there is any faith in ancient history. The Carthaginians too, who descended from the Canaanites, as we noted before, gained several victories over the Romans in Spain and Italy. It is a mistake therefore to say that Ham never subdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally and for much the greatest part of time been a servant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thousand years, and continues at present. This sufficiently verifies the prediction; and we should exceed the limits of truth, if we should extend it farther. We might almost as well say (as some have said) that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse. But though Ham hath in some instances and upon some occasions been superior, yet this is memorable enough, that of the four famous monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, the two former were of the descendants of Shem, as the two latter were of the sons of Japheth.

2. The other is the famous author of the Letters on the study and use of history, who hath

(9) Patrick, &c.

(1) Letter

hath strangely abused his talents in abusing this prophecy. For the true meaning and exact completion of it rightly considered, what room is there for ridicule? and how absurd and impertinent as well as gross and indecent are his reflections? "The curse, says (1) he, pronounced in it contradicts all our notions of order and of justice. One is tempted to think, that the patriarch was still drunk; and that no man in his senses could hold such language, or pass such a sentence." But such will be the case, when men of more parts than judgment talk and write about things which they do not sufficiently understand; and especially in matters of religion, whereof they are by no means competent judges, having either never studied them at all, or studied them superficially and with prejudice. All that he hath written relating to these subjects betrays great weakness in a man of his capacity, weakness great as his malice; and we might have an easy victory over assertions without proofs, premises without conclusions, and conclusions without premises. But I love not controversy, and will only make two or three reflections, just to give a specimen of the boasted learning and abilities of this writer.

His

(1) Letter the 3d. p. 110.

(2) Letter

(2) Letter
Vol.

His lordship seemeth to take a particular pleasure in railing at pedants, at the same time that he is himself one of the most pedantic of writers, if it be pedantry to make a vain ostentation of learning, and to quote authors without either reading or understanding them, or even knowing so much as who and what they are.

"The Codex Alexandrinus, (2) saith he, we owe to George the monk." We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more usually called Syncellus, for what is intitled *Vetus Chronicon* or an old chronicle. But the *Codex Alexandrinus* is quite another thing; it is, as all the learned know, the famous Greek MS. of the Old and New Testament, brought originally from Alexandria, and presented to Charles I, and now remaining in the King's library, of which it doth not appear that George the monk knew any thing, and it is evident that his lordship knew nothing. If he meant to say the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, that is still another thing, and the work of another author.

His lordship is of opinion, (3) that "Virgil in those famous verses *Excudent alii &c*" might have justly ascribed to his countrymen the praise of writing history better than the

"Gre-

(2) Letter the 1st. p. 8.
VOL. I.

(3) Letter the 5th. p. 158. &c.
D

(4) Virgil

"Grecians." But which are the Roman histories, that are to be preferred to the Grecian? Why, "the remains, the precious remains," says his lordship, "of Salust, of Livy, and of Tacitus." But it happened that (4) Virgil died, before Livy had written his history, and before Tacitus was born. And is not this an excellent chronologer now to correct all ancient history and chronology sacred and profane?

His lordship is likewise pleased to say, (5) that "Don Quixote believed, but even Sancho doubted:" and it may be asserted on the other side, that Sir Isaac Newton believed the prophecies, though his lordship did not, the principal reason of which may be found perhaps in the different life and morals of the one and the other. Nay the wisest politicians and historians have been believers, as well as the greatest philosophers. Raleigh, and Clarendon believed; Bacon, and Locke believed; and where then is the discredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? *A scorner*, as Solomon saith, (Prov. XIV. 6.) *seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not.*

But there cannot be a stronger condemnation of his lordship's conduct, than his own words upon another occasion in his famous Disserta-

tion

(4) Virgil died A. U. C. 735. finished his history in 745.
Livy according to Dodwell. Tacitus

tion upon parties. "Some men there are, the
 "pests of society I think them, who pretend
 "a great regard to religion in general, but
 "who take every opportunity of declaiming
 "publicly against that system of religion, or
 "at least against that church-establishment,
 "which is received in Britain. Just so the
 "men, of whom I have been speaking, affect
 "a great regard to liberty in general; but they
 "dislike so much the system of liberty esta-
 "blished in Britain, that they are incessant in
 "their endeavors to puzzle the plainest thing
 "in the world, and to refine and distinguish
 "away the life and strength of our constitu-
 "tion, in favor of the little, present, momen-
 "tary turns, which they are retained to serve.
 "What now would be the consequence, if all
 "these endeavors should succeed? I am per-
 "suaded that the great philosophers, divines,
 "lawyers, and politicians, who exert them-
 "selves, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the
 "plans of a new religion, and of new consti-
 "tutions in church and state. We should find
 "ourselves therefore without any form of re-
 "ligion, or civil government. The first set of
 "these missionaries would take off all the re-
 "straints

Tacitus was consul in 850. (5) Letter the 4th. p. 120.
 see Fabricius.

D 2

(6) Rush-

“ straits of religion from the governed ; and
 “ the latter set would remove, or render in-
 “ effectual, all the limitations and controlls,
 “ which liberty hath prescribed to those that
 “ govern, and disjoint the whole frame of our
 “ constitution. Entire dissolution of manners,
 “ confusion, anarchy, or perhaps absolute mo-
 “ narchy, would follow, for it is possible,
 “ nay probable, that in such a state as this,
 “ and amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men
 “ would choose this government, absurd as it
 “ is, rather than have no government at all.”

It is to be lamented that such a genius should
 be so employed: but the misapplication of those
 excellent talents with which God had intrusted
 him, was his reigning fault through every stage,
 through every scene of life. That which Lord
 (6) Digby said of the great Lord Strafford, may
 with more truth and justice be affirmed of him,
 that the malignity of his practices was hugely
 aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof
 God had given him the use, but the devil the
 application.

(6) Rushworth. Vol. 4. p. 225.



II.

The prophecies concerning ISHMAEL.

A BRAHAM was the patriarch of greatest renown next after the times of Noah. He was favored with several revelations; and from him two very extraordinary nations descended, the Ishmaelites and Israelites, concerning each of whom there are some remarkable prophecies. Ishmael, though the son of the bond-woman, and not properly the child of promise, was yet distinguished by some express predictions for the comfort and satisfaction of both his parents. In the 16th chapter of Genesis, when Hagar fled from the face of her mistress who had dealt hardly with her, the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, *Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael (that is God shall hear)*

because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren. (ver. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12.) In the following chapter, when Isaac was promised to Abraham, God still reserved a blessing for Ishmael, *Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.* (ver. 20.) Afterwards when Hagar and Ishmael were sent forth into the wilderness, God said unto Abraham, (Gen. XXI, 13.) *And also of the son of the bond-woman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed.* The same is repeated to Hagar, (ver. 18.) *I will make him a great nation.* And if we are curious to trace the course of events, we shall see how exactly these particulars have been fulfilled from the earliest down to the present times.

I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude: and again, *Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly.* These passages evince that the prophecy doth not so properly relate to Ishmael, as to his posterity, which is here foretold to be very numerous.

Ishmael
married

married an Egyptian woman, as his mother was likewise an Egyptian : (Gen. XXI. 21.) and in a few years his family was increased so, that in the 37th chapter of Genesis we read of Ishmaelites trading into Egypt. Afterwards his seed was multiplied exceedingly in the Hagarènes, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar ; and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his son Nebaioth ; and in the Itureans, who were so called from his son Jetur or Itur ; and in the Arabs, especially the Scenites, and the Saracens, who overran a great part of the world : and his descendants, the Arabs, are a very numerous people at this day.

Twelve princes shall be beget. This circumstance is very particular, but it was punctually fulfilled ; and Moses hath given us the names of these twelve princes. (Gen. XXV. 16.) *These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations :* by which we are to understand, not that they were so many distinct sovran princes, but only heads of clans or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs* as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes : and Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian,

rian, relates (1) that “ Abraham of his Egyptian wife begat 12 sons (he should have said one son who begat 12 sons) who departing into Arabia divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence even to our days the Arabians have twelve kings of the same names as the first.” And ever since the people have been governed by phylarchs, and have lived in tribes; and still continue to do so, as (2) Thevenot and other modern travelers testify.

And I will make him a great nation. This is repeated twice or thrice; and it was accomplished, as soon as in the regular course of nature it could be accomplished. His seed in process of time grew up into a great nation, and such they continued for several ages, and such they remain to this day. They might indeed emphatically be stiled *a great nation*, when the Saracens had made those rapid and extensive conquests, and erected one of the largest empires that ever were in the world.

And he will be a wild man. In the original it is

(1) ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γεννησάμενος ἱερεὺς ὢν, ὃς δὲ εἰς Ἀραβίαν ἀπαλλαγέντας διελθόντας τὴν χώραν καὶ πρῶτους βασιλευσάμενος τῶν ἰσχυρίων. ὅθεν ἕως καθ' ἡμᾶς δωδεκά μὲν βασιλεῖς Ἀραβῶν ὁμω-

νόμενος. Ex Ægyptia liberos duodecim genuisse, qui in Arabiam profecti eam inter se dividerint locique hominibus principes imperarint: ex quo factum sit, ut reges Arabum duodecim

duodecim
mines
numere
Evang.
Edit. V

is a *wild afs-man*, and the learned (3) Bochart translates it *tam ferus quam onager*, as wild as a wild afs; so that that should be eminently true of him, which in the book of Job (XL. 12.) is affirmed of mankind in general, *Man is born like a wild asses colt*. But what is the nature of the creature, to which Ishmael is so particularly compared? It cannot be described better than it is in the same book of Job. (XXXIX. 5, &c.) *Who hath sent out the wild afs free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild afs? Whose bouse I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing.* Ishmael therefore and his posterity were to be wild, fierce, savage, ranging in the deserts, and not easily softened and tamed to society: and whoever hath read or known any thing of this people, knoweth this to be their true and genuine character. It is said of Ishmael, (Gen. XXI. 20.) that *he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer*:

duodecim primis illis cognominibus ad nostra usque tempora numerantur. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 19. p. 421. Edit. Vigeri.

(2) See Part 1, B. 2. C. 32. See likewise Harris's Voyages Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(3) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 16. Col. 878.

(4) Am-

archer: and the same is no less true of his descendants than of himself. *He dwelt in the wilderness*; and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant (4) according to the best accounts ancient and modern. *And he became an archer*; and such were the Itureans, whose (5) bows and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Keder in Isaiah's time; (Is. XXI. 17.) and such the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time. It was late before they admitted the use of fire arms among them; (6) the greater part of them are still strangers to them, and still continue skilful archers.

His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him. The one is the natural, and almost necessary consequence of the other. Ishmael lived by prey and rapin in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land, and pirates by sea. As they have been such enemies

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus. Lib. 14. Cap. 4. p. 14. Edit. Valesii Paris 1681. Harris. Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9.

(5) —Ityræos taxi torquentur in arcus. Virgil. Georg. II. 448. —Itureis curfus fuit inde sagittis. Lucan. VII. 230.

(6) Thevenot

emies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again, that several attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now as well as formerly travelers are forced to go with arms and in caravans or large companies, and to march and keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themselves from the assaults of these freebooters, who run about in troops, and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means subdue. These robberies they also (7) justify "by alleging the hard usage of their father Ishmael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. And on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression,

(6) Thevenot in Harris. Vol. II. 448. to the Koran. Sect. 1. p. 30, 31. where he also quotes Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c.

(7) Sale's Prelim. Discourse

(8) Sale's

“ sion, and instead of *I robbed a man of such or such a thing, to say, I gained it.*”

And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren; shall tabernacle, for many of the Arabs dwell in tents, and are therefore called Scenites.

This is very extraordinary, that *his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him,* and yet that he should be able to dwell in the presence of all his brethren: but extraordinary as it was, this also hath been fulfilled

both in the person of Ishmael, and in his posterity. As for Ishmael himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates (Gen. XXV. 17,

18.) that *the years of the life of Ishmael were an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of all his brethren.* As

for his posterity, they dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren, Abraham's sons by Keturah, the Moabites and Ammonites de-

scendents of Lot, the Israelites descendents of Abraham Isaac and Jacob, and the Edomites descendents of Abraham Isaac and Esau. And

they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind. It may be said perhaps that the country was not worth conquering, and its barrenness was its preservation: but this is a

mistake,

mistake, for by all accounts, tho' the greater part of it be sandy and barren deserts, yet here and there are interspersed beautiful spots and fruitful valleys. One part of the country was anciently known and distinguished by the name of *Arabia the happy*. And now the proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces. Of these the chief is the province of Yaman, which, as a (8) learned writer asserts upon good authorities, "has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry barren desert, in some places 10 or 12 leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive
" their

(8) Sale's Prelim. Disc. *ibid.* p. 2, 3.

(9) Diod.

“ their greatest advantages from their water
 “ and palm trees.” But if the country was
 ever so bad, one would think it should be for
 the interest of the neighbouring princes and
 states at any hazard to root out such a pestilent
 race of robbers : and actually it hath several
 times been attempted, but never accomplished.
 They have from first to last maintained their
 independency, and notwithstanding the most
 powerful efforts for their destruction, still dwell
 in the presence of all their brethren, and in the
 presence of all their enemies.

We find that in the time of Moses, they
 were grown up into *twelve princes according to
 their nations* ; (Gen. XXV. 16.) *and they dwell
 (saith Moses, ver. 18.) from Havilah unto Shur,
 that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria:*
 but yet we do not find that they were ever sub-
 ject to either of their powerful neighbours, the
 Egyptians or Assyrians. The conquests of Se-
 sostris, the great king of Egypt, are much mag-
 nified by Diodorus Siculus ; and probably he
 might subdue some of the western provinces
 of

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 36.
 Edit. Stephan. p. 52. Edit.
 Rhodmani.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 79.
 Edit. Steph. p. 111. Edit. Rhod.

(2) Αραβίοι δὲ ὑδάμα κατη-
 κισαν ἐπὶ δαλουσυνῇ Περσῇ, ἀλ-
 λα ξῆνοι ἐγνωτοῖο, παρῆτες Καμ-
 βύσια ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίον. αἰκοῦσαν γὰρ
 Αραβίων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐσθλαλοῦν Περ-
 σῇ

of Arabia bordering upon Egypt, but he was obliged, as (9) Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, to secure Egypt from the incursions of the Arabs. They were therefore not subjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewise to the Assyrians, for they assisted (1) Belesis and Arbaces in overturning that empire, assisted them not as fellow-rebels, but as an independent state with their auxiliary forces.

The next great conquerors of the east were Cyrus and the Persians; but neither he nor any of his successors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to subjection. They might conquer some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and Herodotus, the historian who lived nearest to those times, saith expressly, that (2) the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which without the assistance and permission of the Arabs would have been utterly impracticable;

καὶ οὐκ Ἀραβίων. Arabes nunquam a Persis in servitutem redacti sunt, sed hospites extiterunt; quum Cambyſi aditum in Ægyptum permisissent: qui-

bus invitis haudquaquam fuissent ingressi Persæ Ægyptum. Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 88. p. 198. Edit. Gale.

(3) Ibid.

impracticable; and in (3) another place he saith, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute. They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces (4) Amyrtæus king of Egypt against Darius Nothus, and (5) Euagoras king of Cyprus against Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that they acted as friends or enemies to the Persians, just as they thought proper, and as it suited their humor or their interest.

Alexander the great then overturned the Persian empire, and conquered Asia. The neighbouring princes sent their ambassadors to make their submissions. The (6) Arabs alone disdained to acknowledge the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or to take any notice of him. This slight provoked him to such a degree, that he meditated an expedition against them; and the great preparations which he

(3) Ibid. Sect. 91. p. 199.—
 ὅλην μοίρης της Ἀραβίων (ταυ-
 τὰ γὰρ ἦν ἀτιμία) — præter
 Arabum partem (hæc enim erat
 immunis.)

(4) Diodorus Siculus. Lib.
 13. p. 355. Edit. Stephani.
 Tom. 2. p. 172. Edit. Rhodo-
 mani. Prideaux Connect. Part
 1. B. 6. Anno 410.

(5) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15.
 p. 459. Edit. Stephani. Tom. 2.
 p. 328. Edit. Rhodmani. Pride-
 aux Connect. Part 1. B. 7. an. 386.

(6) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1076.
 & 1132. Edit. Amstel. 1707.
 Arrian. Lib. 7. p. 300. Edit.
 Gronovii.

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib.
 19. p. 722. &c. Edit. Stephani.
 Tom.

he made for it, showed that he thought them a very formidable enemy: but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or resentment had formed against them. Thus they happily escaped the fury of his arms, and were never subdued by any of his successors. Antigonus, one of the greatest of his successors, (7) made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, and the other by his own son Demetrius, but both without success; the former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they suffer the people employed by Antigonus, to gather the bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increase his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to desist from their undertaking. So true is the assertion of (8) Diodorus, that "neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet of the Macedo-

Tom. 2. p. 730. Edit. Rhodmani.

(8) οἱ Ἀσσυριοὶ τὸ παλαιόν, οἱ Ἀσσυριοὶ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς ἠδυνήθησαν αὐτοὺς καταδύλωσθαι, πολλὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀγαγόντες, ὅδε ποτε δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς συντελεσάντες, nec

Assyrii olim, nec Medi ac Persæ, imo nec Macedonum reges subigere illos potuerunt; qui licet magnis in eos copiis moverint, nunquam tamen incepta ad finem perduxerunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 92. Edit. Steph. p. 131. Edit. Rhod.

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E

(9) Plutarch

“ Macedonians, were able to subdue them;
 “ nay tho’ they led many and great forces
 “ against them, yet they could not accomplish
 “ their attempts.” We find them afterwards
 sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with
 the neighbouring states; sometimes joining the
 Syrians, and sometimes the Egyptians; some-
 times assisting the Jews, and sometimes plun-
 dering them; and in all respects acting like a
 free people, who neither feared nor courted
 any foreign power whatever.

The Romans then invaded the east, and sub-
 dued the countries adjoining, but were never
 able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Ro-
 man province. It is too common with histo-
 rians to say that such or such a country was
 conquered, when perhaps only part of it was
 so. It is thus that (9) Plutarch asserts that the
 Arabs submitted to Lucullus; whereas the most
 that we can believe is, that he might subdue
 some particular tribes; but he was recalled, and
 the command of the Roman army in Asia was
 given

(9) Plutarch in Lucullo pas-
 sim.

(1) Plutarch in Pompeio. p.
 640 &c. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(2) Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 1126.
 Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion. Cas-
 sius. Lib. 53. p. 516. Edit.
 Leunclav. Hanov. 1606. Dion

calls him by mistake Aelius
 Largus.

(3) ἐγενοντο δὲ βροταί, καὶ
 κίβδεις ἐπέφαινοντο· ἀστράται π
 καὶ ζάλη, χαλαζα καὶ κεραυνά
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνιπνίον, ὅπου
 προσέβαλον. καὶ ὅποτε ἐν διπτονίᾳ
 μίαι τοῖς βρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς
 ἔρωσι.

given to Pompey. Pompey, tho' he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He (1) carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Aretas to submit; but other affairs soon obliged him to retire, and by retiring he lost all the advantages which he had gained. His forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incursions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus in the reign of Augustus (2) penetrated far into the country, but a strange distemper made terrible havoc in his army, and after two years spent in this unfortunate expedition, he was glad to escape with the small remainder of his forces. The emperor Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but he could never subdue it entirely; and when he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, as (3) Dion says, his soldiers were repelled by lightnings, thunderings, hail, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and were constantly so repelled, as often as they renewed their assaults. At the same

προσλυνσαι, δυσχειρας ἀπαντα
 υπημελων. και Τραιανος μεν εκει-
 νου εως απηλθε. Ibi cœlum
 tonitru contremuit, irides visæ
 sunt, fulgura, procellæ grando,
 fulmina in Romanos cadebant,
 quoties in illos impetum face-

rent; quotiesque cœnarent,
 muscæ tam esculentis quam po-
 tentis insidentis, cuncta nau-
 sea quadam implebant. Itaque
 Trajanus inde proficiscitur.
 Dionis Hist. Lib. 68. p. 785.
 Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.

same time great swarms of flies infested his camp; so that he was forced at last to raise the siege, and retired with disgrace into his own dominions. About eighty years after the emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army and a formidable train of military engines; but he had no better success than Trajan. God, (4) says the heathen historian, preserved the city by the backwardness of the emperor at one time, and by that of his forces at another. He made some assaults, but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation as great as his vexation for his disappointment. And if such great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not succeed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal licence and impunity.

Such was the state and condition of the Arabs to the time of their famous prophet Moham-med, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire :

(4) και ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ εὐσαμει-
τὴν πόλιν, τὰς μὲν στρατιὰς δὴ-
θύντας ἀνὰ αὐτὴν ἐκτελεῖν, διὰ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν ἀνεκάλυψε, καὶ τὸν Σιδηρον
αὐτὸν βυλθθέντα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ λα-
οῦ, διὰ τὸν στρατιωτῶν ἐκώλυσε.
Itaque Deus urbem liberavit,

qui per Severum revocavit mi-
lites, quum possent in ipsam in-
gredi; et Severum cupientem
eandem postea capere, per mili-
tes prohibuit. Ibid. Lib. 75.
p. 855.

(5) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap.

pire : and then for several centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saracens*, the *Ar-raceni* (5) of Pliny, and the (6) *Hagarenes* of holy scripture. Their conquests were indeed amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a sudden flood or inundation. In a few years the Saracens overran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in several centuries. They were then not only free and independent of the rest of the world, but were themselves masters of the most considerable parts of the earth. And so they continued for (7) about three centuries; and after their empire was dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars, Mamalucs, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever were the conquerors of Asia, they were still unconquered, still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for several centuries been lords of the adjacent countries;

32. ubi vide notam Harduini.

(6) *Hagarenes*, the descendents of Ishmael. They are called also Ishmaelites and Saracens. &c. Calmet's Dict.

(7) The Saracens began their conquests A. D. 622. and to

reign at Damascus A. D. 637.

Their empire was broken and divided A. D. 936. See Dr. Blair's Chronol. Tables. Tab. 33 & 39. and Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, Chap. 3. p. 304, 305.

(8) See

countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of the Arabs, that they have been (8) obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute for the safe passage and security of the pilgrims, who usually go in great companies to Mecca; so that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks. And they still continue the same practices, and preserve the same superiority, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of modern travelers of all nations.

Two of our own nation have lately traveled into those parts, and have written and published their travels, both men of literature, both reverend divines, and writers of credit and character, Dr. Shaw and Bishop Pococke; and in several instances they confirm the account that we have given of this people. “ With regard “ to the manners and customs of the Bedo- “ weens, saith (9) Dr. Shaw, it is to be ob- “ served that they retain a great many of those “ we read of in sacred as well as profane his- “ tory; being, if we except their religion, the “ same people they were two or three thousand “ years ago; without ever embracing any of “ those

(8) See Thevenot in Harris Vol. 2. Book 2. Chap. 9. and Demetrius Cantemir's Hist. of

the Othman empire in Ahmed. II. p. 393.

(9) Shaw's

“ those novelties in dress or behaviour, which
 “ have had so many periods and revolutions in
 “ the Moorish and Turkish cities.” And after
 giving some account of their hospitality, he
 proceeds thus; “ Yet the outward behaviour
 “ of the Arab frequently gives the lie to his
 “ inward temper and inclination. For he is
 “ naturally thievish and treacherous; and it
 “ sometimes happens that those very persons
 “ are overtaken and pillaged in the morning;
 “ who were entertained the night before, with
 “ all the instances of friendship and hospitality.
 “ Neither are they to be accused for plunder-
 “ ing strangers only, and attacking almost
 “ every person, whom they find unarmed and
 “ defenceless, but for those many implacable
 “ and hereditary animosities, which continually
 “ subsist among them, literally fulfilling to
 “ this day the prophecy, *that Ishmael should be*
 “ *a wild man; his hand should be against every*
 “ *man, and every man's hand against him.*” Dr.
 Shaw himself (1) was robbed and plundered by
 a party of Arabs in his journey from Ramah
 to Jerusalem, though he was escorted by four
 bands of Turkish soldiers: and yet the Turks
 at

(9) Shaw's Travels p. 300.
 &c.

(1) Preface to his Travels.
 p. vii.

(2) Pococke's

at the same time paid a stipulated sum to the Arabs, in order to secure a safe passage for their caravans : and there cannot surely be a stronger proof, not only of the independency of the Arabs, but even of their superiority, not only of their enjoying their liberty, but even of their abusing it to licentiousness. Bishop Pococke was the last who traveled into those parts ; and he hath informed us, that the present inhabitants of Arabia resemble the ancient in several respects ; that (2) they live under tents, and stay in one place as long as they have water and shrubs and trees for their camels to feed on, for there is no tillage nor grass in all this country ; that all their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep, so that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates and a little goats milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo ; that they are in different nations or clans, each obeying the orders of its great chief and every incampment those of its particular chief ; and tho' seemingly divided, yet they are all united in a sort of league together ; that they (3) love plunder, and the roving sort of life this disposition leads them to, have good horses, and manage

(2) Pococke's Description of the East. Vol. 1. Book 3. Chap. 2.

(3) Book 4. Chap. 4.

(4) Han-

manage them and their pikes with much address; those on foot use poles, with which they fence off the spear, with great art. So that authors both sacred and profane, Jewish and Arabian, Greek and Roman, Christian and Mohammedan, ancient and modern, all agree in the same account: and if any are desirous of seeing the matter deduced more at large, they may be referred to a dissertation upon the independency of the Arabs by the learned authors of the Universal History.

An author, who hath lately published an account of Persia, having occasion to speak of the Arabians, (4) says, "their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, give them also a superiority over their enemies. Hence every petty chief in his own district considers himself as a sovran prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers. Their conduct in this respect has often occasioned their being considered in no better light than robbers &c. They generally marry within their own tribe, &c. When they plunder

" caravans

(4) Hanway's Travels, Vol. 4. Part 5. Chap. 29. p. 221, &c.

(5) Antiq.

“caravans traveling thro’ their territories, they
 “consider it as reprisals on the Turks and Per-
 “sians, who often make inroads into their
 “country, and carry away their corn and their
 “flocks.”

Who can fairly consider and lay all these particulars together, and not perceive the hand of God in this whole affair from the beginning to the end? The sacred historian saith, that these prophecies concerning Ishmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himself: and indeed who but God, or one raised and commissioned by him, could describe so particularly the genius and manners, not only of a single person before he was born, but of a whole people from the first founder of the race to the present time? It was somewhat wonderful, and not to be foreseen by human sagacity or prudence, that a man’s whole posterity should so nearly resemble him, and retain the same inclinations, the same habits, the same customs throughout all ages. The waters of the purest spring or fountain are soon changed and polluted in their course; and the farther still they flow, the more they are incorporated and lost in other waters. How have the modern

(5) Antiq. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. p. 29. Edit. Hudson.

Vide

dern Italians degenerated from the courage and
 virtues of the old Romans? How are the
 French and English polished and refined from
 the barbarism of the ancient Gauls and Britons?
 Men and manners change with times: but in
 all changes and revolutions the Arabs have still
 continued the same with little or no material
 alteration. And yet it cannot be said of them,
 as of some barbarous nations, that they have
 had no commerce or intercourse with the rest of
 mankind; for by their conquests they overran
 a great part of the earth, and for some centuries
 were masters of most of the learning that was
 then in the world: but however they remained
 and still remain the same fierce savage intract-
 able people, like their great ancestor in every
 thing, and different from most of the world
 besides. Ishmael was circumcised; and so are
 his posterity to this day: and as Ishmael was
 circumcised when he was thirteen years old, so
 were the Arabs at the same age according to
 (5) Josephus. He was born of Hagar, who
 was a concubine; and they still indulge them-
 selves in the use of mercenary wives and con-
 cubines. He lived in tents in the wilderness,
 shifting from place to place; and so do his
 de-

Vide etiam Pocockii Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 319.

(6) Scenita

descendents, particularly those therefore called (6) Scenites formerly, and those called Bedouens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderness; and so are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes at this day. He was a wild man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him: and they live in the same state of war, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.

This, I say, is somewhat wonderful, that the same people should retain the same dispositions for so many ages; but it is still more wonderful, that with these dispositions, and this enmity to the whole world, they should still subsist in spite of the world an independent and free people. It cannot be pretended, that no probable attempts were ever made to conquer them; for the greatest conquerors in the world have almost all in their turns attempted it, and some of them have been very near effecting it. It cannot be pretended that the dryness or inaccessibleness of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, tho' never entirely subdued,

(6) Scenitæ—vagi—a tabernaculis [απο των σκηνων] cognominati. Plin. Lib. 6. Cap. 28.

Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 87.

(7) Diodorus

duced. I know that (7) Diodorus Siculus accounts for their preservation from the dryness of their country, that they have wells digged in proper places known only to themselves, and their enemies and invaders through ignorance of these places perish for want of water : but this account is far from being an adequate and most representation of the case ; large armies have found the means of subsistence in their country ; none of their powerful invaders ever hesitated on this account ; and therefore that they have not been conquered, we must impute to some other cause. When in all human probability they were upon the brink of ruin, then as we have before seen at large) they were signally and providentially delivered. Alexander was preparing an expedition against them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conquests, when urgent affairs called him elsewhere. Aelius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal disease destroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan besieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds

(7) Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 2. p. 722. Edit. Steph. p. 730.
 2. Edit. Stephani. p. 131. Edit. Rhod.
 it. Rhodomani. & Lib. 19.

winds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his assaults. Severus besieged the same city twice, and was twice repelled from before it; and the historian Dion, a man of rank and character, though an heathen, plainly ascribes the defeat of these two emperors to the interposition of a divine power. We who know the prophecies, may be more assured of the reality of a divine interposition: and indeed otherwise how could a single nation stand out against the enmity of the whole world for any length of time, and much more for near 4000 years together? The great empires round them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning, and are likely to continue the same to the end: and this in the natural course of human affairs was so highly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that as nothing but a divine prescience could have foreseen it, so nothing but a divine power could have accomplished it.

These are the only people besides the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning; and in some respects they very much resemble each other. The Arabs as well as the Jews are descended from Abraham and both boast of their descent from that father

of the faithful. The Arabs as well as the Jews are circumcised, and both profess to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. The Arabs as well as the Jews had originally twelve patriarchs or heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. The Arabs as well as the Jews marry among themselves and in their own tribes. The Arabs as well as the Jews are singular in several of their customs, and are standing monuments to all ages, of the exactness of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of scripture-history. We may with more confidence believe the particulars related of Abraham and Ishmael, when we see them verified in their posterity at this day. This is having as it were ocular demonstration for our faith. This is proving by plain matter of fact, that *the most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men*, and that his truth, as well as his mercy, *indureth for ever*.



III.

*The prophecies concerning JACOB and
ESAU.*

AS it pleased God to disclose unto Abraham the state and condition of his posterity by Ishmael, who was the son of the bond-woman; it might be with reason expected, that something should be predicted concerning his posterity also by Isaac, who was the son of the free-woman. He was properly the child of promise, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than those relating to Ishmael: but we will select and enlarge upon such only, as have reference to these later ages.

It was promised to Abraham before Ishmael or any son was born to him, (Gen. XII. 3.) *In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.* But after the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, the promise was limited to Isaac, (Gen. XXI. 12.) *for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.* And accordingly to Isaac was the promise repeated, (Gen. XXIV. 4.) *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.* The Saviour of the world therefore was not to come of the family

of Ishmael, but of the family of Isaac; which is an argument for the truth of the Christian religion in preference to the Môhammedan, drawn from an old prophecy and promise made two thousand years before Christ, and much more before Mohammed was born.

The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed four hundred years before they took possession of it. (Gen. XV.) It was promised again to Isaac, (Gen. XXVI. 3.) *Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee: for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father.*

Now it is very well known, that it was not till after the death of Moses, who wrote these things, that the Israelites got possession of the land under the command of Joshua. They remained in possession of it several ages in pursuance of these prophecies: and afterwards, when for their sins and iniquities they were to be removed from it, their removal also was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for seventy years, and likewise their final captivity and dispersion into all nations, till in the fulness of time they shall be restored again to the land of their inheritance.

It was foretold to Abraham that his posterity should be multiplied exceedingly above that of others; (Gen. XII. 2.) *I will make of thee a great nation;* and (XXII. 17.) *in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore.* The same promise was continued to Isaac, (Gen. XXVI. 4.) *I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven.* And not to mention the vast increase of their other posterity, how soon did their descendants by Jacob grow up into a mighty nation? and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? how numerous were they in other parts of the world according to the accounts of Philo and Josephus? and after the innumerable massacres and persecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they still in their present dispersion among all nations? It is computed that there are as many Jews now, or more than ever there were, since they have been a nation. A learned (1) foreigner, who hath written a history of the Jews as a supplement and continuation of the history of Josephus, says that “it is impossible to fix the number of persons this nation is

“ at

(1) See Basnage's History of the Jews. Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 15.

THE PROPHECIES.

67
88

“ at present composed of. But yet we have
 “ reason to believe, there are still near three
 “ millions of people, who profess this religion,
 “ and as their phrase is, *are witnesses of the*
 “ *unity of God in all the nations of the world.*”
 And who could foretel such a wonderful in-
 crease and propagation of a branch only of one
 man’s family, but the same divine power that
 could effect it?

But Isaac had two sons, whose families did
 not grow up and incorporate into one people,
 but were separated into two different nations: and
 therefore, as it had been necessary before to spe-
 cify whether Ishmael or Isaac was to be heir of
 the promises, so there was a necessity for the
 same distinction now between Esau and Jacob.
 Accordingly, when their mother had conceived,
the children struggled together within her; (Gen.
XXV. 22.) and it was revealed unto her by the
 Lord, (ver. 23.) *Two nations are in thy womb,*
and two manner of people shall be separated from
thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than
the other people, and the elder shall serve the youn-
ger. The same divine spirit influenced and di-
 rected their father to give his final benediction
 to the same purpose: for thus he blessed Ja-
 cob, (Gen. XXVII. 28, 29.) *God give thee of*
the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth,
and

and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee: and thus he blessed Esau, (ver. 39, 40.) Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck. But for greater clearness and certainty a more express revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the blessing of all nations, were promised to him in particular, (Gen. XXVIII. 13, 14.) I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Israel: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south; and in thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

We have here a farther and more ample proof of what was asserted before, that these ancient prophecies were meant not so much of single persons, as of whole people and nations descended from them. For what is here pre-
dicted

dicted concerning Esau and Jacob was not verified in themselves, but in their posterity. Jacob was so far from bearing rule over Esau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of Esau. (Gen. XXVII.) He continued abroad several years; and when he returned to his native country, he sent a supplicatory message to his brother Esau, (Gen. XXXII. 5.) *that he might find grace in his sight.* When he heard of Esau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he *was greatly afraid and distressed,* (ver. 7.) and cryed unto the Lord, (ver. 11.) *Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau.* He sent a magnificent present before him to appease his brother, calling Esau his *lord*, and himself Esau's *servant.* (ver. 18.) When he met him, he *bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.* (Gen. XXXIII. 3.) And after he had found a gracious reception, he acknowledged (ver. 10.) *I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me.* Jacob then had no temporal superiority over Esau; and therefore we must look for the completion of the prophecy among their posterity. The prophecy itself refers us thither, and mentions plainly *two nations* and *two manner of people*, and comprehends these several

DISSERTATIONS ON

ral particulars; that the families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger; that in situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike; that the elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger; that however there should be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger; but in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations.

I. The families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations. *Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels.* The Edomites were the offspring of Esau, as the Israelites were of Jacob; and who but the author and giver of life could foresee, that two children in the womb would multiply into two nations? Jacob had twelve sons, and their descendants all united and incorporated into one nation; and what an overruling providence then was it, that two nations should arise from the two sons only of Isaac? But they were not

(2) $\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, Sept. simplex, Vulg.

(3) $\square\eta$ Integer, perfectus. Integer, Syr. Samar. Perfectus,

only

tus, Onk. 1 Arab.

only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations, and *two manner of people* were to be *separated* from her bowels. And have not the Edomites and Israelites been all along two very different people in their manners and customs and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance one with another? The children *struggled together* in the womb, which was an omen and token of their future disagreement: and when they were grown up to manhood, they manifested very different inclinations. Esau was *a cunning hunter*, and delighted in the sports of the field: Jacob was more mild and gentle, *dwelling in tents*, and minding his sheep and his cattle. (Gen. XXV. 27.) Our English translation, agreeably to the (2) Septuagint and the Vulgate, hath it that Jacob was *a plain man*; but he appears from his whole conduct and behaviour to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The (3) word in the original signifies *perfect*, which is a general term; but being put in opposition to the *rough* and *rustic* manners of Esau, it must particularly import that Jacob was more *humane* and *gentle*, as (4) Philo the Jew understands it, and as Le Clerc translates it. Esau
slighted

tas, Onk. Perfectus virtutibus,
Arab.

(4) Vide Clericum in locum.
Jacobus vero mitis &c.

F 4

(5) —K&G.

slighted his birth-right and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was desirous, and is therefore called (Hebr. XII. 16.) the *profane* Esau: but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diversity ran through their posterity. The religion of the Jews is very well known; but whatever the Edomites were at first, in process of time they became idolaters. Josephus (5) mentions an Idumean deity named Kozé: and Amaziah king of Judah, after he had overthrown the Edomites, (2 Chron. XXIV. 14.) *brought their gods, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them*; which was monstrously absurd, as the prophet remonstrates, (ver. 15.) *Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine hand?* Upon these religious differences and other accounts there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not suffer the Israelites in their return out of Egypt, so much as to pass thro' his territories: (Numb. XX.) and the history of the Edomites afterwards is little

(5) —Κοζέ· θεὸν δὲ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων σέμειον. Coze; quem Deum existimant Idumæi. An-

tiq. Lib. 15. Cap. 7. Sect. 9. p. 686. Edit. Hudson.

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little more than the history of their wars with the Jews.

II. The family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger. *And the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger*, or as the words may be rendered, *the greater shall serve the lesser*. The family of Esau was the elder, and for some time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*. (Gen. XXXVI. 31.) But David and his captains made an entire conquest of the Edomites, slew several thousands of them, (1 Kings XI. 16. & 1 Chron. XVIII. 12.) and compelled the rest to become his tributaries and servants, and planted garrisons among them to secure their obedience. (2 Sam. VIII. 14.) *And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants*. In this state of servitude they continued (6) about an hundred and fifty years, without king of their own, being governed by vice-roys or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah.

In

(6) From about the year of world 3115 before Christ 889.
 world 2960 before Christ See Usher's Annals.
 44 to about the year of the

(7) Joseph.

In the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah it is said, that *there was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king.* (1 Kings XXII. 47.) But in the days of Jehoram his son, they revolted, and recovered their liberties, and made a king over themselves. (2 Kings VIII. 20.) But afterwards Amaziah king of Judah slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day, says the sacred historian. (2 Kings XIV. 7.) And other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the Rock, whereon Selah was built, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they were broken all in pieces. (2 Chron. XXV. 12.) His son Azariah or Uzziah likewise took from them Elah, that commodious haven on the Red Sea, and fortified it anew, and restored it to Judah. (2 Kings XIV. 22. 2 Chron. XXVI. 2.) Judas Maccabæus attacked and defeated them several times, killed no fewer than twenty thousand at one time, and more than twenty thousand at another, and took their chief city Hebron, and the tower thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burnt

(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 13. Chap. 9. Sect. 1. p. 584. Edit. Hudson.

(8) In pinguedine terræ, in rore cæli desuper.

(9) A terræ pinguitudine ab

burnt the towers thereof round about. (1 Macc. V. 2 Macc. X.) At last his nephew, (7) Hyrcanus the son of Simon, took others of their cities, and reduced them to the necessity of embracing the Jewish religion, or of leaving their country and seeking new habitations elsewhere, whereupon they submitted to be circumcised, and became proselytes to the Jewish religion, and ever after were incorporated into the Jewish church and nation.

III. In situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike. For it was said to Jacob, *God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine*: and much the same is said to Esau, *Behold thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above*. In this manner the latter clause is translated in (8) Jerome's and the old versions; but some modern commentators (9) Castalio, le Clerc, &c) render it otherwise, that his dwelling should be *far from the fatness of the earth, and from the dew of heaven*: and they say that Idumæa, the country of the Edomites, was a dry, barren, and

it. Cast. A pinguedine quidem terra remota erit sedes tua, neque rore cæli secundabitur.—

Nec sane Idumæa secunda aut pingui solo, aut tempestivis pluviis rigata fuit. Clericus in locum.

(1) Ver.

and desert country. But it is not probable, that any good author should use the (1) very same words with the very same præpositions in one sense, and within a few lines after in a quite contrary sense. Besides Esau solicited for a blessing; and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews saith (XI. 20.) that *Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau*; whereas had he consigned Esau to such a barren and wretched country, it would have been a curse rather than a blessing. The spiritual blessing indeed, or the promise of the blessed seed, could be given only to one; but temporal good things might be communicated and imparted to both. Mount Seir and the adjacent country was at first the possession of the Edomites; they afterwards extended themselves farther into Arabia; as they did afterwards into the southern parts of Judea. But wherever they were situated, we find in fact that the Edomites in temporal advantages were little inferior to the Israelites. Esau had *cattle*, and *beasts*, and *substance* in abundance, and he went to dwell in Seir of his own accord, and he would hardly have removed thither with so many cattle, had it been such a barren and deso-

late

(1) Ver. 28. כֶּמֶל
רֹרֶה דֵּ.
 terræ pinguedinibus de et, cæli

Ver.

late country, as some would represent it. (Gen. XXXIV. 6, 7, 8.) The Edomites had dukes and kings reigning over them, while the Israelites were slaves in Egypt. In their return out of Egypt when the Israelites desired leave to pass thro' the territories of Edom, it appears that the country abounded with fruitful fields and vineyards; *Let us pass, I pray thee, thro' thy country; we will not pass thro' the fields, or thro' the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells.* (Numb. XX. 17.) And the prophecy of Malachi, (I. 2.) which is commonly alleged as a proof of the barrenness of the country, is rather an argument to the contrary: *And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness:* for this implies that the country was fruitful before, and that its present unfruitfulness was rather an effect of war and devastation, than any natural defect and failure in the soil. If the country is barren and unfruitful now, so neither is Judea what it was formerly. The face of any country is much changed in a long course of years: and it is totally a different thing, when a country is regularly cultivated by inhabitants living under

Ver. 39. מעל ומשל השמים ומשני הארץ
 desuper cæli rore de et, terræ pinguedinibus de.
 (2) Strabo

under a settled government, than when tyranny prevails, and the land is left desolate. It is also frequently seen that God, as the Psalmist saith, (CVII. 34.) *turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.*

IV. The elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger. *And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother.* Esau himself might be said to live much by the sword, for *he was a cunning hunter, a man of the field.* (Gen. XXV. 27.) He and his children gat possession of mount Seir by force and violence, by destroying and expelling from thence the Horites, the former inhabitants. (Deut. II. 22.) We have no account, and therefore cannot pretend to say, by what means they spread themselves farther among the Arabians; but in (2) appears, that upon a sedition and separation several of the Edomites came, and seized upon the south-west parts of Judea during the Babylonish captivity, and settled there ever afterwards. Both before and after this they were

almost

(2) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1103. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Ann. 740.

(3) *ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ ἑταί-*

*τοι ἱδοῦ, αἱ τὲ μικροὶ πρὸς
κινήματα, καὶ μεταβολαὶ χαί-
ροντες ὀλίγη δὲ κολακίαι τοῖς
ομνῶν τὰ ὄπλα κινῶν, καὶ καθ-
ὲς ἑαυτὴν ὡς βασιλεὺς παραταξ-
ομένη.* *utpote gentem tum-*

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almost continually at war with the Jews; upon every occasion they were ready to join with their enemies; and when Nebuchadnezzar beleaguered Jerusalem, they encouraged him utterly to destroy the city, saying *Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.* (Psal. CXXXVII. 7.) Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same martial spirit, for Josephus in his time giveth them the character of 'a turbulent and disorderly nation, always erect to commotions and rejoicing in changes, at the least adulation of those who beseech them beginning war, and hastening to battles as it were to a feast.' Agreeably to this character, a little before the last siege of Jerusalem they came at the entreaty of the Idumeans to assist them against the priests and people, and there together with the zelots committed unheard of cruelties; and barbarously murdered Ananus the high-priest, from whose death Josephus dateth the destruction of the city.

V. However there was to be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the

nam et ordinis impatientem, ventem, et ad praelia quasi ad motus, intentam semper et festum properantem. De Bell. Iud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. Licam vero eorum qui sup. p. 1177. Edit. Hudson. See too the following chapter.

(4) *etiam*

the yoke of the younger. *And it shall come to pass when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* The word which we translate *have dominion* is capable of various interpretations. Some render it in the sense of *laying down* or *shaking off*, as the (4) Septuagint and the Vulgar Latin, *And it shall come to pass that thou shalt shake off, and shalt loose his yoke from off thy neck.* Some again render it in the sense of *mourning* or *repenting*, as the (5) Syriac, *But if thou shalt repent, his yoke shall pass from off thy neck.* But the most common rendering and most approved is, *when thou shalt have dominion*; and it is not said or meant, that they should have dominion over the seed of Jacob, but simply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The (6) Jerusalem Targum thus paraphraseth the whole,

‘ And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the law, and observe the precepts,
 ‘ they shall impose the yoke of servitude upon
 ‘ thy neck; but when they shall turn away
 ‘ themselves from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake

‘ off

(4) εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ καθελὼς καὶ ἐκδοῦναι τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου. Sept. tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis. Vulg.

(5) At si pœnitentiam egeris, præteribit jugum ejus a collo tuo. Syr.

(6) Et erit cum operam dabunt filii Jacob legi, et servabunt

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‘off the yoke of servitude from thy neck.’ It was David who imposed the yoke, and at that time the Jewish people observed the law. But the yoke was very galling to the Edomites from the first : and toward the latter end of Solomon’s reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raised some disturbances, (1 Kings XI.) but was not able to recover his throne, (7) his subjects being overawed by the garrisons which David had placed among them. But in the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king. Jehoram made some attempts to subdue them again, but could not prevail. *So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day*, saith the author of the books of Chronicles : (2 Chron. XI. 8, 10.) and hereby this part of the prophecy was fulfilled about nine hundred years after it was delivered.

VI. But in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy

ant mandata, imponant jugum servitutis super collum tuum : abrumpes jugum servitutis eorum a collo tuo. Targ. Hieros. (7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 361. Edit. Hudson.

happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations. *In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed:* and hitherto are to be referred in their full force those expressions, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee.* The same promise was made to Abraham in the name of God, *I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee:* (Gen. XII. 3.) and it is here repeated to Jacob, and is thus paraphrased in the (8) Jerusalem Targum, 'He who curseth thee, shall be cursed, as Balaam the son of Beor; and he who bleisseth thee, shall be blessed, as Moses the prophet, the lawgiver of Israel.' It appears that Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promises more than Esau. The posterity of Jacob likewise preserved the true religion and the worship of one God, while the Edomites were sunk in idolatry. And of the seed of Jacob was born at last the Saviour of the world. This was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations. This was his greater superiority over Esau; and in this sense

(8) Quisquis maledixerat dictus, sicut Balaam filius Beor tibi Jacob fili mi, erat male- quisquis autem benedixerit

Paul understands and applies the prophecy, *the elder shall serve the younger.* (Rom. IX. 12.)

The Christ, the Saviour of the world, was to be born of some one family: and Jacob's was preferred to Esau's out of the good pleasure of almighty God, who is certainly the best judge of fitness and expedience, and hath an undoubted right to dispense his favors as he shall see proper; *for he saith to Moses* (as the apostle proceeds to argue ver. 15.) *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.* And when the Gentiles were converted to Christianity, the prophecy was fulfilled literally, *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee;* and will more amply be fulfilled, when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved.*

We have traced the accomplishment of the prophecy from the beginning; and we find that the nation of the Edomites hath at several times been conquered by and made tributary to the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites, and the Jews have been the more considerable people, more known in the world, and more famous in history.

We

erit benedictus, sicut Moses rum. Targ. Hieros.
propheta, legislator Israelita-

DISSERTATIONS ON

We know indeed little more of the history of the Edomites, than as it is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation now? They were swallowed up and lost, partly among the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was (9) abolished and disused about the end of the first century after Christ. Thus were they rewarded for insulting and oppressing their brethren the Jews, and hereby other prophecies were fulfilled of Jeremiah, (XLIX. 7. &c.) of Ezekiel, (XXV. 12. &c.) of Joel, (III. 19.) Amos, (I. 11. &c.) and Obadiah. And at this day we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obadiah (ver. 10.) *For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever: and again (ver. 18.) there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it.*

(9) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 5. Anno 129.

IV.

JACOB'S prophecies concerning his sons,
particularly JUDAH.

IT is an opinion of great antiquity, that the nearer men approach to their dissolution, their souls grow more divine, and discern more of futurity. We find this opinion as early as (1) Homer, for he represents the dying Patroclus foretelling the fate of Hector, and the dying Hector denouncing no less certainly the death of Achilles. Socrates in his Apology to the Athenians a little before his death (2) asserts the same opinion. 'But now, saith he, I am desirous to prophesy to you who have condemned me, what will happen hereafter. For

now

(1) Hom. Iliad. XVI. 852.
Iliad. XXII. 358.

(2) Το δὲ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου ἡλικίαν καὶ γὰρ ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ἐμφανέσθαι, ὅταν πολλοὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Jam vero, O vos, qui condemnastis, cupio vobis

earum rerum, quæ vobis sunt eventuræ, casus quasi oraculo prædicere: in illum enim temporis statum jam perveni, in quo homines divinandi facultate maxime pollent, quando nimis mortituri sunt. Platonis Apolog. Socr. Op. Vol. i. p. 39. Edit. Serrant.

‘ now I am arrived at that state, in which men
 ‘ prophesy most, when they are about to die.’
 His scholar (3) Xenophon introduces the dying
 Cyrus declaring in like manner, ‘ that the soul
 ‘ of man at the hour of death appears most
 ‘ divine, and then foresees something of future
 ‘ events,’ Diodorus Siculus (4) allegeth great
 authorities upon this subject; ‘ Pythagoras the
 ‘ Samian and some others of the ancient natu-
 ‘ ralists have demonstrated that the souls of men
 ‘ are immortal, and in consequence of this opi-
 ‘ nion that they also foreknow future events, at
 ‘ the time that they are making their separation
 ‘ from the body in death.’ Sextus Empiricus
 (5) confirms it likewise by the authority of
 Aristotle; ‘ the soul, saith Aristotle, foresees
 ‘ and foretels future events, when it is going to

(3) ἡ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴ
 τότε ὀφθαλμοῦ καταφανταί,
 καὶ τότε τὴν τῶν μελλόντων προφά-
 ς hominis animus tum scilicet
 maxime divinus perspicitur, et
 tum futurorum aliquid prospici-
 cit. Xenoph. Cyrop. Lib. 8.
 prope finem. p. 140. Edit.
 Henr. Steph. 1581.

(4) Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος καὶ
 τινες ἑτέροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν
 ἀπεφάνησαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ὑπάρχειν ἀθάνατας. ἀκολουθῶν δὲ
 τῷ δόγματι τῶν καὶ προφηγῶσκειν
 αὐτὰς τὰ μελλόντα, καθ’ ὅν αὖ

καίρῳ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ σώ-
 ματος χωρισμοῦ ποικίλονται. Py-
 thagoras Samius, et quidam
 physicorum veterum alii, im-
 mortales esse hominum animas
 confirmarunt: et quod huius
 sententiæ consecrarium est
 prænoscere futura, cum, im-
 minente vitæ exitu, jamjam
 corpore segregantur. In initio
 Lib. 18. Tom. 2. p. 586. Edit.
 Rhodomani.

(5) Ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὶν Ἀριστο-
 τέλης, προμαντεύεται καὶ ἐπα-
 ρεῖται τὰ μελλόντα—ἐν τῇ

Adv. Mat.
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'be separated from the body by death.' We might produce more testimonies to this purpose from Cicero, and Eustathius upon Homer, and from other authors, if there was occasion; but these are sufficient to show the great (6) antiquity of this opinion. And it is possible, that (7) old experience may in some cases attain to something like prophecy and divination. In some instances also God may have been pleased to comfort and enlighten departing souls with a prescience of future events. But what I conceive might principally give rise to this opinion, was the tradition of some of the patriarchs being divinely inspired in their last moments to foretell the state and condition of the people descended from them; as Jacob upon his death-bed summoned his sons together that he might inform them

Βασιλεὺς χρησίδαι τὸν σωματικόν.
Adv. Mathem. p. 312.

(6) Shakespear alludes to this notion in Henry IV. First Part.

—O, I could prophesy,
But that the earthy and cold
hand of death
Lies on my tongue.

The same notion is also happily expressed in a most excellent Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, which is deserving of a place among classic authors, in richness of poetry equals Lucre-

tius, and in clearness and strength of argument exceeds him.

Namque ubi torpescunt artus
jam morte propinqua,
Acrior est acies tum mentis,
et entheus ardor;
Tempore non alio facundia
suavior, atque
Fatidicæ jam tum voces mor-
ientis ab ore.

(7) Alluding to these lines of Milton.

Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic
strain,

(8) Boyle's

them of what should befall them in *the latter days*, or *the last days*; by which phrase some commentators understand the times of the Messiah, or the last great period of the world; and Mr. Whiston particularly (8) asserts, that it is generally, if not always, a characteristic and *επισήμιον* of prophecies not to be fulfilled till the coming of the Messiah; and accordingly he supposes that these prophecies of Jacob more properly belong to the second coming of the Messiah, at the restoration of the twelve tribes hereafter. But the phrase of *the latter days* or *last days* in the Old Testament signifies any time that is yet to come, tho' sometimes it may relate to the times of the Messiah in particular, as it comprehends all future time in general: and hence it is used in prophecies that respect different times and periods. *I will advertise thee*, saith Balaam to Balaak, (Numb. XXIV. 14.) *what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days*: but what the Israelites did to the Moabites, was done long before the times of the Messiah. *I know*, saith Moses, (Deut. XXXI. 29.) *that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befall you in the latter days*: where the *latter days* are much

(8) Boyle's Lectures, Vol. 2. p. 311.

(9) Tradunt

THE PROPHECIES.

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the same as the time after the death of Moses. *There is a God in heaven, saith Daniel, (II. 28.) that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days:* but several particulars are there foretold of the four great monarchies of the earth, which were fulfilled before the coming of the Messiah. And in like manner these prophecies of Jacob were, many or most of them, accomplished under the Mosaic oecconomy, several ages before the birth of our Saviour.

Jacob, as we have seen, received a double blessing, temporal and spiritual, the promise of the land of Canaan, and the promise of the seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed; which promises were first made to Abraham, and then repeated to Isaac, and then confirmed to Jacob; and Jacob a little before his death bequeaths the same to his children. The temporal blessing or inheritance of the land of Canaan might be shared and divided among all his sons, but the blessed seed could descend only from one: and Jacob accordingly assigns to each a portion in the promised land, but limits the descent of the blessed seed to the tribe of Judah, and at the same time sketches out the characters and fortunes of all the tribes.

He

He adopts the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, for his own, but foretels that the younger should be the greater of the two; (Gen. XLVIII. 19.) and hath not the prediction been fully justified by the event? The tribe of Ephraim grew to be so numerous and powerful, that it is sometimes put for all the ten tribes of Israel.—Of Reuben it is said, (Gen. XLIX. 4.) *Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel*: and what is recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number (Numb. I.) and power they were inferior to several other tribes.—Of Simeon and Levi it is said, (ver. 7.) *I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel*: and was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were dispersed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah; (Josh. XIX. 1—9.) from whence several of them afterwards went in quest of new habitations, (1 Chron. IV. 39, &c.) and so were divided from the rest of their brethren. A constant tradition too (9) hath

(9) Tradunt quoque Hebræi, scribas, pædotribas, pædagogs, et doctores puerorum fere omnes ex tribu Schimeon fuisse, qui,

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hath prevailed among the Jews (which is also confirmed by the Jerusalem Targum) that the tribe of Simeon were so straitened in their situation and circumstances, that great numbers were necessitated to seek a subsistence among the other tribes, by teaching and instructing their children.—Of Zebulun it is said, (ver. 13.) *He shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and shall be for an haven of ships:* and accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, (Josh. XIX. 10, &c.) where they had commodious havens for shipping. And how could Jacob have foretold the situation of any tribe, which was determined 200 years afterwards by casting of lots, unless he had been directed by that divine Spirit, who disposeth of all events?—Of Benjamin it is said, (ver. 27.) *He shall raven as a wolf:* and was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the case of the Levite's wife, (Judg. XX.) when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles?

In this manner he characterizes these and the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition,

qui, ut haberent unde viverent, tentiæ adstipulatur et Thargum
 sparim et oppidatim pueros in Hieros. &c. Fagius.
 formare cogebantur. Cui sen-

(1) Shaw's

condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest: *Binding his sole unto the vine, and his ass colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes. His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk:* (ver. 11, 12.) and not to mention the valley of Eschol and other fruitful places, the mountains about Jerusalem, by the accounts of the best travelers, were particularly fitted for the cultivation of the vine, and for the feeding of cattle. “The blessing, says (1) Dr. Shaw, “that was given to Judah, was not of the “same kind, with the blessing of Asher or of “Issachar that *his bread should be fat, or his “land should be pleasant, but that his eyes should “be red with wine, and his teeth should be white “with milk.*” He farther observes that “the “mountains of the country abound with “shrubs and a delicate short grass, both which “the cattle are more fond of, than of such “plants as are common to fallow grounds and “meadows. Neither was this method of grazing peculiar to this country; inasmuch as it “is still practised all over mount Libanus, the “Castravan mountains and Barbary; in all “which places the higher grounds are set

“apart

(1) Shaw's Travels, p. 366, 367.

(2) Demon-

" apart for this use, and the plains and valleys
 " for tillage. For besides the good manage-
 " ment and oeconomy, there is this farther ad-
 " vantage, that the milk of cattle fed in this
 " manner is far more rich and delicious, as their
 " flesh is more sweet and nourishing.—It may
 " be presumed likewise, that the vine was not
 " neglected, in a soil and exposition so proper
 " for it to thrive in." He mentions parti-
 " cularly " the many tokens which are to be
 " met with, of the ancient vineyards about Je-
 " rusalem and Hebron," and " the great quan-
 " tity of grapes and raisins, which are from
 " thence brought daily to the markets of Je-
 " rusalem, and sent yearly to Egypt."

But Jacob bequeaths to Judah particularly
 the spiritual blessing, and delivers it in much
 the same form of words that it was delivered to
 him. Isaac had said to Jacob, (Gen. XXVII.
 29.) *Let people serve thee, and nations bow down
 to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy
 mother's sons bow down to thee:* and here Jacob
 saith to Judah, (ver. 8.) *Thou art he whom thy
 brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck
 of thy enemies; thy father's children shall bow
 down before thee.* And for greater certainty it is
 added (ver. 10.) *The scepter shall not depart from
 Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet,
 until*

until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. I will not trouble the reader or myself with a detail of the various interpretations which have been put upon this passage, but will only offer that which appears to me the plainest, easiest, and best; I will first explain the words and meaning of the prophecy, and then show the full and exact completion of it. They who are curious to know the various interpretations of the learned, may find an account of them in (2) Huetius and (3) Le Clerc; but no one hath treated the subject in a more masterly manner than the present (4) Lord Bishop of London; and we shall principally tread in his footsteps, as we cannot follow a better guide.

I. *The scepter shall not depart from Judah.* The word שבט *shebet*, which we translate a *scepter*, signifies a *rod* or *staff* of any kind; and particularly the rod or staff which (5) belonged to each tribe as an ensign of their authority; and thence it is transferred to signify a *tribe*, as being united under one rod or staff of government, or a *ruler* of a tribe; and in this

(2) Demonstratio Evangelica Prop. 9. Cap. 4.

(3) Comment. in locum.

(4) See the 3d Dissertation in Bishop Sherlock's Discourses of the Use and Intent of Prophecy.

(5) Bishop Sherlock hath cited to this purpose Menochius de Repub. Heb. Lib. 1. Cap.

4. Traductum vero nomen est ad significandum tribum—quod unaquæque tribus suam peculiarem

liarem viri
suo inscrip
principes
sueverant.
ronem his
et fratres

this sense it is used twice in this very chapter, (ver. 16.) *Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes or rulers of Israel*; and again (ver. 28.) *All these are the twelve tribes or rulers of Israel*. It hath the same signification in 2 Sam. VII. 7. *In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel, spake I a word with any of the tribes or rulers of Israel* (in the parallel place of Chronicles I Chron. XVII. 6. it is *judges of Israel*) *whom I commanded to feed my people Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of cedar?* The word doth indeed sometimes signify a *scepter*, but that is apt to convey an idea of kingly authority, which was not the thing intended here: and the (6) Seventy translate it *αρχων* a *ruler*, which answers better to a *law-giver* in the following clause. It could not with any sort of propriety be said, that *the scepter should not depart from Judah*, when Judah had no scepter, nor was to have any for many generations afterwards: but Judah had a rod or staff of a tribe, for he was then constituted a tribe as well as the rest of his brethren.

liarem virgam haberet, nomine *sceptrum patris tui sume tecum*, suo inscriptam, quam tribuum intellige sceptrum ipsum, et principes—manu gestare con- totam tribum quæ scepro significabatur, et regebatur.
 siveverant.—Cum Dominus Aaronem his verbis alloquitur, *sed* (6) ΟΥΚ ΕΧΑΣΕ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΞ ΙΟΥΔΑ.
et fratres tuos de tribu Levi, et Sept.

(7) *nai*

thren. The very same expression occurs in Zechariah, (X. 11.) *and the scepter of Egypt shall depart away*, which implies that Egypt had a scepter, and that that scepter should be taken away: but no grammar or language could justify the saying that *Judah's scepter should depart* or be taken away, before Judah was in possession of any scepter. Would it not therefore be better, to substitute the word *staff* or *ruler* instead of *scepter*, unless we restrain the meaning of scepter to a rod or staff of a tribe, which is all that is here intended? *The staff or ruler shall not depart from Judah. The tribeship shall not depart from Judah.* Such authority as Judah had then, was to remain with his posterity. It is not said or meant, that he should not cease from being a king or having a kingdom, for he was then no king, and had no kingdom; but only that he should not cease from being a tribe or body politic, having rulers and governors of his own, till a certain period here foretold.

Nor a lawgiver from between his feet. The sense of the word *scepter* will help us to fix and determin the meaning of the other word *mechokek*, which we translate a *lawgiver*. For if they are not synonymous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, such must be the lawgiver. The government was only

only of a single tribe, and the lawgiver could be of no more. Nor had the tribe of Judah at any time a legislative authority over all the other tribes, no, not even in the reigns of David and Solomon. When David appointed the officers for the service of the temple; (1 Chron. XXV. 1. Ezra VIII. 20.) and when Solomon was appointed king, and Zadok priest; (1 Chron. XXIX. 22.) these things were done with the consent and approbation of the princes and rulers of Israel. Indeed the whole nation had but one law, and one lawgiver in the strict sense of the word. The king himself was not properly a lawgiver; he was only to have *a copy of the law, to read therein, and to turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left.* (Deut. XVII. 18, &c.) Moses was truly, as he is styled, *the lawgiver*: (Numb. XXI. 18. Deut. XXXIII. 21.) and when the word is applied to any other person or persons, as Judah is twice called by the Psalmist (Psal. LX. 7. CVIII. 8.) *my lawgiver*, it is used in a lower signification. For it signifies not only a lawgiver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewise one who exerciseth jurisdiction: and in the (7) Greek it is translated ἡγούμενος a *leader* or *præfident*,

(7) καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῦ. Sept.

præfident, in the (8) Chaldee a *scribe*, in the (9) Syriac an *expositor*, and in our English bible it is elfewhere tranſlated a *governor*, as in Judges (V. 14.) *Out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer.* The *lawgiver* therefore is to be taken in a reſtrained ſenſe as well as the *ſcepter*: and perhaps it cannot be tranſlated better than *judge*: *Nor a judge from between his feet.* Whether we underſtand it, that a *judge from between his feet ſhall not depart from Judah*, or a *judge ſhall not depart from between his feet*, I conceive the meaning to be much the ſame, that there ſhould not be wanting a judge of the race and poſterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phraſe of children's coming *from between the feet*. They who expound it of *ſitting at the feet of Judah*, ſeem not to have conſidered that this was the place of ſcholars, and not of judges and doctors of the law. As *Dan* (ver. 16.) was to *judge his people as one of the tribes* or *rulers of Iſrael*; ſo was *Judah*, and with this particular prerogative, that *the ſtaff or ruler ſhould not depart from Judah, nor a judge from between his feet*, until the time here foretold, which we are now to examin and aſcertain.

Unti

(8) neque ſcriba a filiis filiorum ejus. Chald.

des ejus. Syr.

(9) et expoſitor de inter pe-

(1) As if St. Jerome had read

שילוח *Shiloach* inſtead of שילוח

Shiloh

Shiloh, and שילוח *Shiloh* being eaſy

Until *Shiloh* come, that is, until the coming of the Messiah, as almost all interpreters, both ancient and modern, agree. For howsoever they may explain the word, and whencesoever they may derive it, the Messiah is the person plainly intended.—The (1) Vulgar Latin translates it *Qui mittendus est, He who is to be sent*; and to favor this version that passage in St. John's Gospel (IX. 7.) is usually cited, *Go wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation sent*: And who was ever sent with such power and authority from God as the Messiah, who frequently speaketh of himself in the gospel under the denomination of *him whom the Father hath sent*?—The (2) Seventy translate it *τα αποκειμενα αυτω the things reserved for him*, or according to other copies *ω αποκειται he for whom it is reserved*: And what was the great treasure reserved for Judah, or who was the person for whom all things were reserved, but the Messiah, whom we have declaring in the gospel, (Matt. XI. 27.) *All things are delivered unto me of my Father*, and again (XXVIII. 18.) *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth*?—The Syriac translates it to the same purpose

Shiloh, and hath derived it from
 שילח *Shalach* *mist*, the mistake
 being easy of ח *ch* for ב *b*.

(2) Deriving it from ש *sh*
 quod or quæ, and לו *lo ei*.

H 2

(3) As

DISSERTATIONS ON

purpose is *cujus illud est, he whose it is*, I suppose meaning the kingdom; and the Arabic *cujus ipse est, whose he is*, I suppose meaning Judah: And whose was Judah, or whose was the kingdom so properly as the Messiah's, who is so many times predicted under the character of *the king of Israel*?—Junius and Tremellius with others (3) translate it *filius ejus, his son*: And who could be this son of Judah by way of eminence, but the Messiah, *the seed in which all the nations of the earth shall be blessed*?—In the Samaritan text and version it is *pacificus, the peace-maker*; and (4) this perhaps is the best explication of the word: And to whom can this or any the like title be so justly applied as to the Messiah, who is emphatically stiled (II. IX. 6.) *the prince of peace*, and at whose birth was sung that heavenly anthem, (Luke II. 14.) *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men*?

These are the principal interpretations, and which ever of these you prefer, the person understood must be the Messiah. But the learned

Mr.

(3) As if it was derived from שיל *Shil profusivum sanguinis*, or שילה *Shilejah secundina*, that wherein the infant is wrapped, and thence by a metonymy the infant itself.

(4) I look upon the word שילוב *Shilob* to be derived from the verb שלה *Shalah* *tranquillus, pacificus fuit*, in the same manner as קטור *kitor fumus* is formed from קטר *katar suffi-*
migavit:

migavit: words of (5) H Job is the and שיל from שיל same as

Mr. Le Clerc would explain the text in such a manner as utterly to exclude the Messiah: and he was a very able commentator, the best perhaps upon the Pentateuch; but like other learned men, he was sometimes apt to indulge strange unaccountable fancies. Of this kind, I conceive, is his interpretation of this prophecy; for he (5) says that *Shiloh* signifies *finis ejus aut cessatio, his end or ceasing*, and that it may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *scepter*, or even to Judah himself. But if it be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *scepter*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology, *There shall be a lawgiver as long as there shall be a lawgiver, There shall not be an end of the scepter till the end of the scepter come?* If it be referred to Judah or the tribe of Judah, the thing is by no means true; for the tribe of Judah subsisted, long after they had lost the kingdom, and were deprived of all royal authority. Not many readers, I imagin, will concur with this learned commentator. The generality of interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, have by *Shiloh* always understood the

amigavit: and there are other words of that formation.

(5) He says that שִׁלֹחַ *Shiloh* is the same as שִׁלֹי *Shilo*, and שִׁל *Shil* may be derived from שֹׁל *Shul*, and *Shul* is the same as שָׁלַח *Shalah*, which in

Chaldee signifies *cessare, finire*—*finis aut cessatio* verti poterit. Hoc posito, *finis ejus* poterit ad *legislatorem* aut ad *sceptrum* referri, aut etiam ad ipsum Judam. Comment. in locum.

the Messiah. The Targum of Onkelos is commonly (6) supposed to have been made before our Saviour's time, and he (7) thus expresseth the sense of the passage, 'There shall not be taken away one having the principality from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children, till Messias come whose is the kingdom.' And with him agree the other Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, and the authors of the Talmud, and other ancient and modern Jews, whom the reader may see cited in Buxtorf upon the word. So that, I think, no doubt can remain, that by the *coming of Shiloh* is meant the *coming of the Messiah*.

And unto him shall the gathering of the people be, or obedience of the people, as it is otherwise translated. These words are capable of three different constructions; and each so probable, that it is not easy to say which was certainly intended by the author. For 1. they may relate to *Judah*, who is the main subject of the prophecy, and of the discourse preceding and following; and by the *people* we may understand the people of Israel: and then the meaning

(6) See Prideaux Connect. Part. 2. B. 8. Anno 37.

(7) Non auferetur habens principatum a domo Judæ, neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus,

usque in seculum; donec veniat Messias, cujus est regnum.

(8) Et ipse erit expectatio gentium. Vulg. following the Sept. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῖα ἔσται, who

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ing will be, that the other tribes should be gathered to the tribe of Judah; which sense is approved by Le Clerc and some late commentators. Or 2. they may relate to *Shiloh*, who is the person mentioned immediately before; and by the *people* we may understand the Gentiles: and then the meaning will be, that the Gentiles should be gathered or become obedient to the Messiah; which sense is consonant to other texts of scripture, and is confirmed by the authority of most ancient interpreters; only (8) some of them render it, *and he shall be the expectation of the nations*. Or 3. they may still relate to *Shiloh*, and yet not be considered as a distinct clause, but be joined in construction with the preceding words, *until Shiloh come*, the word *until* being common to both parts: and then the sentence will run thus, *until Shiloh come and to him the gathering or obedience of the people*, that is, until the Messiah come, and until the people or nations be gathered to his obedience; which sense is preferred by the most learned (9) Mr. Mede and some others. And each of these interpretations may very well be justified by the event.

II. Having

who probably derived the word from קָיָה expectavit.

(9) See Mede's Discourse VIII. et Gothofr. Valandi Dissert. cui titulus. *Prætor e medio*

civium Jud. ante Messiae imperium universale non abcessurus. Sylloge Dissertat. Vol. I. Mann's Crit. Note in locum.

II. Having thus explained the words and meaning of the prophecy, I now proceed to show the full and exact completion of it. The twelve sons of Jacob are here constituted twelve tribes or heads of tribes, (ver. 28.) *All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is it that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.* To Judah particularly it was promised, that the *scepter or rod of the tribe should not depart from him, nor a judge or lawgiver from between his feet*; his tribe should continue a distinct tribe with rulers and judges and governors of its own, until the coming of the Messiah. The people of Israel after this settlement of their government were reckoned by their tribes, but never before. It appears that they were reckoned by their tribes and according to their families, while they sojourned in Egypt: and the tribe of Judah made as considerable a figure as any of them. In number it was superior to the others: (Numb. I. and XXVI.) it had the first rank in the armies of Israel: (Numb. II.) it marched first against the Canaanites: (Judg. I.) and upon all occasions manifested such courage as fully answered the character given of it, (ver. 9.) *Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as*

an old lion, who should rouse him up? If the first king of Israel was of the tribe of Benjamin, the second was of the tribe of Judah; and from that time to the Babylonish captivity Judah had not only the scepter of a tribe, but likewise the scepter of a kingdom. When it was promised to Judah particularly that the scepter should not depart from him, it was implied that it should depart from the other tribes: and accordingly the tribe of Benjamin became a sort of appendage to the kingdom of Judah: and the other ten tribes were after a time carried away captive into Assyria, from whence they never returned. The Jews also were carried captive to Babylon, but returned after seventy years: and during their captivity they were far from being treated as slaves, as it appears from the prophet's advice to them; (Jerem. XXIX. 1, &c.) *Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them, &c:* and many of them were so well fixed and settled at Babylon, and lived there in such ease and affluence, that they refused to return to their native country. In their captivity they were still allowed to live as a distinct people, appointed feasts and fasts for themselves, and had rulers and governors of their own, as we may collect from several places in Ezra and Nehemiah.

When

When Cyrus had issued his proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple, *then rose up the chief of the fathers*, saith Ezra; (I. 5.) so that they had chiefs and rulers among them. Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to *the prince of Judah*; (Ezra I. 8.) so that they had then a prince of Judah. And these princes and rulers, who are often mentioned, managed their return and settlement afterwards. It is true that after the Babylonish captivity they were not so free a people as before, living under the dominion of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans; but still they lived as a distinct people under their own laws. The authority of their rulers and elders subsisted under these foreign masters, as it had even while they were in Egypt. It subsisted under the Asmonean princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel, and Saul; for in the books of Maccabees there is frequent mention of *the rulers and elders and council of the Jews*, and of public acts and memorials in their name. It subsisted even in our Saviour's time, for in the gospels we read often of *the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people*. Their power indeed in capital causes, especially such as related to the state, was abridged in some measure; they might judge, but not execute without

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without the consent of the Roman governor, as I think we must infer from this passage, (John XVIII. 31.) *Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law: the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* The scepter was then departing, and in about forty years afterwards it totally departed. Their city was taken, their temple was destroyed, and they themselves were either slain with the sword, or sold for slaves. And from that time to this they have never formed one body or society, but have been dispersed among all nations; their tribes and genealogies have been all confounded, and they have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without supreme authority and government in any part of the earth. And this a captivity not for seventy years, but for seventeen hundred. “Nor will they ever be able (as the learned (1) prelate expresseth it) after all their pretences, to show any signs or marks of the *scepter* among them, till they discover the unknown country, *where never mankind dwelt*, and where the apocryphal Esdras has placed their brethren of the ten tribes.” (2 Esd. XIII. 41.)

We

(1) Bishop Sherlock's Dissertat. 3d. p. 351. Edit. 5.

(2) Thus

We have seen the exact completion of the former part of the prophecy, and now let us attend to that of the latter part, *And unto him shall the gathering of the people be.* If we understand this of Judah, that the other tribes should be gathered to that tribe, it was in some measure fulfilled by the people's going up so frequently as they did to Jerusalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain justice in difficult cases, and to worship God in his holy temple. *Whither the tribes go up, (saith the Psalmist CXXII. 4, 5.) the tribes of the Lord; unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. For there are set thrones of judgment; the thrones of the house of David.* Upon the division of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, and several out of all the other tribes, (2 Chron. XI. 13, 16.) went over to Judah, and were so blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once spoken of under the notion of *one tribe*: (1 Kings XI. 13, 32, 36.) and it is said expressly (1 Kings XII. 20.) *there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only*; all the rest were swallowed up in that tribe, and considered as parts and members of it. In like manner, when the Israelites were carried away captive

into

into Assyria, it is said (2 Kings XVII. 18.) *there was none left but the tribe of Judah only:* and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes remained too, but they are reckoned as one and the same tribe with Judah. Nay at this very time there was a remnant of Israel, that escaped from the Assyrians, and went and adhered to Judah: for we find afterwards, that in the reign of Josiah there were some of *Manasseh and Ephraim and of the remnant of Israel*, who contributed money to the repairing of the temple, as well as *Judah and Benjamin:* (2 Chron. XXXIV. 9.) and at the solemn celebration of the passover some of *Israel were present as well as all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.* When the people returned from the Babylonish captivity, then again several of the tribes of Israel associated themselves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin; and in *Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh.* (1 Chron. X. 3.) At so many different times, and upon such different occasions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, insomuch that Judah became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babylonish captivity they were

were no longer called the *people of Israel*, but the *people of Judah* or *Jews*.

Again; if we understand this of Shiloh or the Messiah, that the people or Gentiles should be gathered to his obedience, it is no more than is foretold in many other prophecies of scripture; and it began to be fulfilled in Cornelius the centurion, whose conversion (Acts X.) was as I may say the first fruits of the Gentiles, and the harvest afterwards was very plentiful. In a few years the gospel was disseminated, and *took root downward, and bore fruit upward* in the most considerable parts of the world then known: and in Constantine's time, when the empire became Christian, it might with some propriety be said, *the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* (Rev. XI. 15.) We ourselves were of the Gentiles, but are now *gathered unto Christ*.

Lastly if we join this in construction with the words preceding *until Shiloh come*, two events are specified as forerunners of the scepter's departing from Judah, the coming of the Messiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and these together point out with greater exactness the precise time of the scepter's departure. Now it is certain that before the destruction of

Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, and the dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans, the Messiah was not only come, but great numbers likewise of the Gentiles were converted to him. The very same thing was predicted by our Saviour himself (Mat. XXIV. 14.) *This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come,* the destruction of Jerusalem, and end of the Jewish constitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, till the Gentiles were grafted into the church. And in fact we find that the apostles and their companions preached the gospel in all the parts of the world then known. *Their sound* (as St. Paul applies the saying, Rom. X. 18.) *went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.* And then the end came, then an end was put to the Jewish polity in church and state. The government of the tribe of Judah had subsisted in some form or other from the death of Jacob to the last destruction of Jerusalem: but then it was utterly broken and ruined; then the scepter departed, and hath been departed ever since. And now even the distinction of tribes is in great measure lost among them; they are all called Jews, but the tribe of Judah is so far from bearing rule, that they know not for certain which

which is the tribe of Judah; and all the world is witness, that they exercise dominion no where, but every where live in subjection.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to add a just observation of the learned prelate before cited. As the tribe of Benjamin annexed itself to the tribe of Judah as its head, so it ran the same fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This also was foretold by Jacob, (ver. 27.) *Benjamin shall raven as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.* The morning and night here can be nothing else but the (2) morning and night of the Jewish state; for this state is the subject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other: and consequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he should continue to the very last times of the Jewish state. This interpretation is confirmed by Moses's prophecy, for the prophecy of Moses is in truth an exposition of Jacob's prophecy. *Benjamin, saith Moses, (Deut. XXXIII. 12.) shall dwell in safety; the*

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(2) Thus some Jewish interpreters referred to by Bochart, understood the expression, *Ma-*
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Lord shall cover him all the day long. What is this *all the day long*? The same certainly as the *morning and night*. Does not this import a promise of a longer continuance to Benjamin, than to the other tribes? And was it not most exactly fulfilled?

To conclude. This prophecy and the completion of it will furnish us with an invincible argument, not only that the Messiah is come, but also that Jesus Christ is the person. For the scepter was not to depart from Judah, until the Messiah should come: but the scepter hath long been departed, and consequently the Messiah hath been long come. The scepter departed at the final destruction of Jerusalem, and hath been departed seventeen centuries; and consequently the Messiah came a little before that period: and if the Messiah came a little before that period, prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the person. All considerate men must say, as Simon Peter said to Jesus, (John VI. 68, 69.) *Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.*

V. BALAAM'S

temporibus—Sub vesperam, id tempora. Hierozoic. pars prior.
 it post captivitatis Babylonicæ Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Col. 828.
 Vol. I. I (1) Saturnal.



V.

BALAAM'S *prophecies.*

WONDERFUL as the gift of prophecy was, it was not always confined to the chosen seed, nor yet always imparted to the best of men. God might sometimes, to convince the world of his superintendence and government of the world, disclose the purposes of his providence to heathen nations. He revealed himself to Abimelech, (Gen. XX.) to Pharaoh, (Gen. XLI.) and to Nebuchadnezzar: (Dan. II.) and we have no reason to deny all the marvelous stories which are related of divination among the Heathens; the possibility and credibility of which is argued on both sides by Cicero in his two books of Divination, his brother Quintus asserting it in the first book, and himself laboring to disprove it in the second; but I think all unprejudiced readers must agree, that the arguments for it are stronger and better than those urged against it. Neither was there any necessity, that the prophets should always be good men. Unworthy persons may sometimes be possessed of spiritual gifts as well as of natural. Aaron and Miriam, who were

inspired upon some occasions, yet upon others
 mutinied against Moses, and rebelled against
 God. Jonah for his disobedience to God was
 thrown into the sea. In the 13th chapter of
 the first book of Kings we read of two pro-
 phets, the one a liar and afterwards inspired,
 the other inspired and afterwards disobedient to
 the word of the Lord. Yea our Saviour him-
 self hath assured us, (Matt. VII. 22, 23.) that
*in the last day many will say unto him, Lord,
 Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and
 in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name
 done many wonderful works? and yet will he pro-
 fess unto them, I never knew you; depart from
 me, ye that work iniquity.*

Balaam was a remarkable instance of both
 kinds, both of a prophet who was a Heathen,
 and of a prophet who was an immoral man.
 He came from *Aram* or *Mesopotamia*, out of the
mountains of the east: (Numb. XXIII. 7. Deut.
 XXIII. 4.) and the east was infamous for sooth-
 sayers and diviners. (Is. II. 6.) However he was
 a worshipper of the true God, (as were also
 Melchizedek, and Job, and others of the hea-
 ven nations) and this appears by his applying
 to God, (Numb. XXII. 8.) *I will bring you
 word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me;
 and by his calling the Lord his God, (ver. 18.)*

I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more. But his worship was mixed and debased with superstition, as appears by his building *seven altars*, and sacrificing on each altar, (Numb. XXIII. 1, 2.) and by his going *to seek for incantments*, whatever they were. (Numb. XXIV. 1.) He appears too to have had some pious thoughts and resolutions, by declaring *I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more*; and by so earnestly wishing *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.* (XXIII. 10.) But his heart was unsound, was mercenary, was corrupt; he *loved the wages of unrighteousness*, (2 Pet. II. 15.) and *ran greedily after rewards*; (Jude 11.) his inclinations were contrary to his duty; he was ordered to stay, but yet he wished to go; he was commanded to bless, but yet he longed to curse; and when he found that he was overruled and could do the people no hurt as a prophet, he still contrived to do it as a politician, and *taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication* (Rev. II. 14.) So that he was indeed a strange mixture of a man; but so is every man more or less. There are inconsistencies and contradictions in every character, tho' not so great

perhaps

perhaps and notorious as in Balaam. If he is called a *sooth-sayer* in one part of scripture, (Josh. XIII. 22.) in another part he is called a *prophet*: (2 Pet. II. 16.) and his name must have been in high credit and estimation, that the king of Moab and the elders of Midian should think it worth their while to send two honorable embassies to him at a considerable distance, to engage him to come and curse the people of Israel. It was a superstitious ceremony in use among the Heathens to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars, as if the Gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves. The Romans had public officers to perform the ceremony, and (1) Macrobius hath preserved the form of these execrations. Now Balaam being a prophet of great note and eminence, it was believed that he was more intimate than others with the heavenly powers, and consequently that his imprecations would be more effectual; for as Balak said unto him (Numb. XXII. 6.) *I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.*

But the strangest incident of all is the part of Balaam's ass. This usually is made the grand objection to the truth of the story. The speaking

(1) Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

(2) Hierozoic.

ing as from that time to this hath been the standing jest of every infidel brother. Philo the Jew seemeth to have been ashamed of this part of the story: for in the first book of his life of Moses, wherein he hath given an account of Balaam, he hath purposely omitted this particular of the as's speaking, I suppose not to give offense to the Gentiles; but he needed not to have been so cautious of offending them, for similar stories were current among them. The learned (2) Bochart hath collected several instances, the as of Bacchus, the ram of Phrixus, the horse of Achilles, and the like, not only from the poets and mythologists, but also from the gravest historians, such as Livy and Plutarch, who frequently affirm that oxen have spoken. The proper use of citing such authorities is not to prove, that those instances and this of Balaam are upon an equal footing, and equally true; but only to prove, that the Gentiles believed such things to be true, and to lie within the power of their gods, and consequently could not object to the truth of scripture-history on this account. Maimonides and others have conceived, that the matter was transacted in a vision: and it must be confessed that many things in the writings of the prophets

(2) Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(3) Antiq.

are spoken of as real transactions, which were only visionary; and these visions made as strong impressions upon the minds of the prophets as realities. But it appears rather more probable from the whole tenor of the narration, that this was no visionary, but a real transaction. The words of St. Peter show, that it is to be understood, as he himself understood it, literally: (2 Pet. II. 14, 15, 16.) *Cursed children: Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet.* The ass was enabled to utter such and such sounds, probably, as parrots do, without understanding them: and say what you will of the construction of the ass's mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for speaking, yet an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful effect, for it is said expressly, *that the Lord opened the mouth of the ass*; and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this, and much more. If the whole transaction was visionary, no reason can be given why it was said particularly that *the Lord opened the mouth of the ass*. But it is thought strange that Balaam should express no surprise upon this extraordinary

nary occasion: but perhaps he had been accustomed to prodigies with his enchantments; or perhaps believing the eastern doctrine of the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of brutes, he might think such a humanized brute not incapable of speaking: or perhaps he might not regard, or attend to the wonder, through excess of rage and *madness*, as the word is in St. Peter; or perhaps (which is the most probable of all) he might be greatly disturbed and astonished, as (3) Josephus affirms he was, and yet Moses in his short history might omit this circumstance. The miracle was by no means needless or superfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the same divine power which caused the dumb ass to speak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter blessings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was overruled to bless the people, tho' he came prepared and disposed to curse them, which according to (4) Bochart was the greater miracle

(3) Antiq. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. *ταπεινὸς δ' αὐτοῦ δια τὴν τῆς οὐ φωνῆς ἀνθρώπων ἔσται, κ. τ. λ.* Dum vero ille voce humana asinae attonitus turbatusque &c. p. 150.

Edit. Hudson.

(4) *Rabba* in *Numeros* Sect. 20. Deum asserit os asinae ideò aperuisse, ut Balaamum doceret, os, et linguam penes se esse, adeoque os ipsius Balaami, si quæreret

Israel

Israeli ma-
cuit even
ipsis invi-
maledictu-
nerat, no-
etiam maj

of the two, for the ass was merely passive, but Balaam resisted the good motions of God. We may be the more certain that he was influenced to speak contrary to his inclination, because after he had done prophesying, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and *flee to his place*; (Numb. XXIV. 10, 11.) yet he had the meanness to stay, and gave that wicked counsel, whereby the people were inticed *to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and twenty and four thousand died in the plague.* (Numb. XXV.)

This miracle then was a proper sign to Balaam, and had a proper effect; and we may the more easily believe it, when we find Balaam afterwards inspired with such knowledge of futurity. It was not more above the natural capacity of the ass to speak, than it was above the natural capacity of Balaam to foretel so many distant events. The prophecies render the miracle more credible; and we shall have less reason to doubt of the one, when we see the accomplishment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we consider the matter

Israeli *maledicere*, Et vero id docuit eventus, cum *Balaam* iis ipsis invitatus benedixit, quibus maledicturus tanto apparatu venerat, non minore oraculo, aut etiam majore, quam cum asina

locuta est. Asina enim erat merè patiens, sed *Balaam* moventi Deo pro virili obsistebat, ut Saül, cum prophetam egit. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(5) See

matter or the stile; as if the same divine spirit that inspired his thoughts, had also raised his language. They are called *parables* in the sacred text: *he took up his parable, and said.* The same word is used after the same manner in the book of Job, (XXVII. 1. XXIX. 1.) *Moreover Job continued his parable, and said.* It is commonly translated *parable* or *proverb*. Le Clerc translates it *figuratam orationem*: and thereby is meant a weighty and solemn speech delivered in figurative and majestic language. Such, remarkably such (5) are the prophecies or parables of Balaam. You cannot peruse them without being struck with the beauty of them. You will perceive uncommon force and energy, if you read them only in our English translation. We shall select only such parts as are more immediately relative to the design of these discourses.

After

(5) See to this purpose Mr. Balaam's prophecies into Latin Lowth's poetical Prælections, verse, Prælect. 20. p. 206. The particularly Prælect. 4. p. 41. learned reader will not be displeased to see it here. Prælect. 18. p. 173. and his ingenious version of part of

Tuis, Jacobæ, quantus est castris decor!
Tuisque signis, Israël!
Ut rigua vallis fertilem pandens finum;
Horti ut scatentes rivulis;
Sacris Edenæ costis ut in sylvis virent,
Cedrique propter flumina.
Illi uda multo rore stillant germina,
Fætusque alunt juges aquæ.

Sancti

After he had offered his first sacrifice, (Numb. XXIII.) he went to seek the Lord, and at his return he declared among other things, *Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* (ver. 9.) And how could Balaam upon a distant view only of a people, whom he had never seen or known before, have discovered the genius and manners not only of the people then living, but of their posterity to the latest generations? What renders it more extraordinary is the singularity of the character, that they should differ from all the people in the world, and should dwell by themselves among the nations, without mixing and incorporating with any. The time too when this was affirmed increases the wonder, it being before the people were well known in the world, before their religion and government were established, and even before they had obtained

Sancti usque fines promovebit imperi
 Rex usque victor hostium.
 Illum subacto duxit ab Nilo Deus,
 Novis superbum viribus,
 Qualis remotis liber in jugis oryx
 Fert celsa cœlo cornua.
 Vorabit hostes; ossa franget; irritas
 Lacerabit hastas dentibus.
 Ut Leo, recumbit; ut læna, decubat;
 Quis audeat laceßere?
 Quæ quisque tibi precabitur, ferat bona!
 Mala quæ precabitur, luat!

(6) See

tained a settlement any where. But yet that the character was fully verified in the event, not only all history testifies, but we have even ocular demonstration at this day. The Jews in their religion and laws, their rites and ceremonies, their manners and customs, were so totally different from all other nations, that they had little intercourse or communion with them. An (6) eminent author hath shown, that there was a general intercommunity amongst the Gods of Paganism; but no such thing was allowed between the God of Israel and the Gods of the nations. There was to be no fellowship between God and Belial, tho' there might be between Belial and Dagon. And hence the Jews were branded for their inhumanity and unso-ciableness; and they as generally hated, as they were hated by the rest of mankind. Other nations, the conquerors and the conquered, have often associated and united as one body under the same laws; but the Jews in their captivities have commonly been more bigotted to their own religion, and more tenacious of their own rites and customs, than at other times. And even now, while they are dispersed among all nations, they yet live distinct and

separate

(6) See the Divine Legation of Moses, Book 2. Sect. 6. and Book 5. Sect. 2.

(7) See

separate from all, trading only with others, but eating, marrying, and conversing chiefly among themselves. We see therefore how exactly and wonderfully Balaam characterized the whole race from the first to the last, when he said, *Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* In the conclusion too when he poured forth that passionate wish, *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his,* (ver. 10.) he had in all probability some forebodings of his own coming to an untimely end, as he really did afterwards being slain with the five kings of Midian by the sword of Israel. (Numb. XXXI. 8.)

After the second sacrifice he said among other things, (Numb. XXII. 24.) *Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain:* and again to the same purpose after the third sacrifice, (XXIV. 8, 9.) *He shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them thro' with his arrows: He couch- ed, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion; who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that bleisseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.* Which passages are a manifest prophecy of the victories which the Israelites should gain over their ene-
mies,

mies, and particularly the Canaanites, and of their secure possession and quiet enjoyment of the land afterwards, and particularly in the reigns of David and Solomon. It is remarkable too, that God hath here put into the mouth of Balaam much the same things which Jacob had before predicted of Judah, (Gen. XLIX. 9.) *Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?* and Isaac had predicted of Jacob, (Gen. XXVII. 29.) *Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that bleisseth thee:* there is such analogy and harmony between the prophecies of scripture.

At the same time Balaam declared, (ver. 7.) *His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.* Some copies have *Gog* instead of *Agag*, which reading is embraced by the (7) authors of the Universal History, who say that “ as the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic read *Gog* instead of *Agag* “ and

(7) See Univerf. Hift. Book I. Chap. 7. Sect. 2. Vol. 1. p. 534. Fol. Edit. note Y.

(8) Extolleturque præ Gog rex ejus. Samar.

Καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλῆα τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. Sept.

ὑψωθήσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλῆα τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. Symm. apud Grot.

(9) Extolletur præ Agag rex ejus, et exaltabitur regnum. Syr.

Exaltabitur plusquam Agag rex ejus, et extolletur regnum ejus. Arab.

Robora-

Roborabi-
g rex ejus,
um illius.

Tolletur
us, et auferet
alg.

(1) Et fecit

“ and *Gog* doth generally signify the Scythians
 “ and northern nations, several interpreters
 “ have preferred this latter reading to the first,
 “ and not without good grounds.” But it is a
 mistake to say, that the Syriac and Arabic read
Gog: it is found only in the (8) Samaritan and
 the Septuagint, and in Symmachus according
 to Grotius: the (9) Syriac and Arabic have
Agag as well as the Targum of Onkelos and
 the Vulgate, tho’ this latter with a different
 sense and construction of the words. Neither
 have we any account that *Gog* was a famous
 king at that time, and much less that the king
 of Israel was ever exalted above him; and in-
 deed the Scythians and northern nations lay too
 remote to be the proper subject of a comparison.
 The reading of the Hebrew copies, *his king*
shall be higher than Agag, is without doubt the
 true reading: and we must either suppose that
Agag was prophesied of by name particularly,
 as Cyrus and Josiah were several years before
 they were born: or we must say with (1)
 Moses

Roborabitur magis quam A-
 gag rex ejus, et elevabitur reg-
 num illius. Onk.

Tolletur propter Agag rex
 ejus, et auferetur regnum illius.
 Vulg.

(1) Et secundum Mosen Ge-

rundensem, quilibet rex Ama-
 lekitarum fuit vocatus *Agag*,
 tranfitque primi regis nomen in
 omnes posteros solum regni oc-
 cupantes; sicut a Cæsare primo
 omnes Romanorum reges *Cæ-*
sares appellantur. Munsterus.

(2) Et

bath said, and the man whose eyes are open, bath said; He bath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open. (ver. 3, 4, and 15, 16.) Which hath occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but the words rightly rendered will admit of an easy interpretation. *Balaam the son of Beor bath said, and the man whose eyes are open bath said:* It should be *the man whose eye was shut:* for the word שָׁטַם *shatam* is used only here and in Lamentations, (III. 8.) and there it signifies *to shut*; and the word שָׁטַם *satam* which is very near of kin to it, I think, hath always that signification. St. Jerome translates it *cujus obturatus est oculus:* and in the margin of our bibles it is rendered *who had his eyes shut*, but with this addition *but now open.* It plainly alludes to Balaam's not seeing the angel of the Lord, at the same time that the ass saw him. *He bath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty;* for in this story we read several times, that *God came unto Balaam and said unto him;* and possibly he might allude too to former revelations. *Falling into a trance, but having his eyes open;* in the original there is no mention of *a trance*; the passage should be rendered, *falling and his eyes were opened*, alluding to

what happened in the way, to Balaam's falling with his falling ass, and then having his eyes opened: *And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she fell down under Balaam—Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face.* (XXII. 27. &c.) A contrast is intended between having his eyes shut, and having his eyes opened; the one answers to the other. The design of this preface was to excite attention: and so Balaam proceeds to advertise Balak what this people shall do to his people in the latter days, by which phrase is meant the time to come, be it more or less remote.

He begins with what more immediately concerns the Moabites, the people to whom he is speaking, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) *I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; or rather I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh;* the future tense in Hebrew being often used for the present. He saw with the eyes of prophecy, and prophets are emphatically stiled seers. *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel.* The

(2). Et subjugabit omnes filios Seth. Syr.

Spear and the scepter are probably metaphors borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics, which much influenced the language of the east; and they evidently denote some eminent and illustrious king or ruler, whom he particularizes in the following words. *And shall smite the corners of Moab, or the princes of Moab* according to other versions. This was executed by David, for *he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground: even with two lines measured he, to put to death; and with one full line, to keep alive: that is he destroyed two thirds, and saved one third alive: and so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts.* (2 Sam. VIII. 2.)

And destroy all the children of Sheth. If by *Sheth* was meant the son of Adam, then *all the children of Sheth* are all mankind, the posterity of Adam and Adam's other sons having all perished in the deluge, and the line only of Sheth having been preserved in Noah and his family: but it is very harsh to say that any king of Israel would *destroy* all mankind, and therefore the (2) Syriac and Chaldee soften it, that he *shall subdue* all the sons of Sheth, and *rule over* the sons of men. The word occurs only in this

et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Chald.

K 2

(3) Hinc

this place, and in Ifaiah (XXII. 5.) where it is used in the sense of *breaking down* or *destroying*: and as particular places, Moab and Edom, are mentioned both before and after; so it is reasonable to conclude that not all mankind in general, but some particular persons were intended by the expression of *the sons of Sheth*. The (3) Jerusalem Targum translates it *the sons of the east*, the Moabites lying east of Judea. Rabbi Nathan (4) says that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grotius (5) imagines *Sheth* to be the name of some famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judicious and useful commentator, says that *Sheth* “seems to be the name of some then
 “eminent, though now unknown, place or
 “prince in Moab, where there were many
 “princes, as appears from Numb. XXIII. 6.
 “Amos II. 3: there being innumerable in-
 “stances of such places or persons sometimes
 “famous, but now utterly lost as to all monu-
 “ments and remembrances of them.” Vitrin-

(3) Hinc Jerosolim. Paraphrastes *filios orientis* vertit. ab. Vide Liram. Drusius. (5) Nihil verò propius quam *Seth* nominatum fuisse regem aliquem eximium inter Moabitas. Grot.

(4) R. Nathan dicit *Seth* nomen urbis esse in termino Moab. (6) Non desisto ab hac sententia.

in his commentary upon Isaiah, (6) conceives that the Idumeans were intended, the word *Sbeth* signifying a *foundation*, or *fortified place*, because they trusted greatly in their castles and fortifications. But the Idumeans are mentioned afterwards; and it is probable that as two hemistichs relate to them, two also relate to the Moabites; and the reason of the appellation assigned by Vitranga is as proper to the Moabites as to the Idumeans. It is common in the stile of the Hebrews, and especially in the poetic parts of scripture, and we may observe it particularly in these prophecies of Balaam, that the same thing in effect is repeated in other words, and the latter member of each period is exegetical of the former, as in the passage before us; *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh*: and then again, *there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel*: and again afterwards, *And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies*. There is great reason therefore

quia, vocem קרקר *karkar* in verbis Bileami certo significare destructionem, everfionem, vastationem; etfi hæream in phrasi בני *filiis* *Seib*, per quos secundum circumstantias loci intelligi puto Idumæos, voce

שן appellative sumptâ pro fundamento, five loco munito, quod illi maxime arcibus ac munitis suis fiderept. Vitrang, in Jesaiam. Cap. 22. ver. 5. p. 641. Vol. 1.

therefore to think, that the same manner of speaking was continued here, and consequently that *Sheth* must be the name of some eminent place or person among the Moabites; and shall smite the princes of Moab, and destroy all the sons of *Sheth*.

And Edom shall be a possession. This was also fulfilled by David; for he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants. (2 Sam. VIII. 14.) David himself in two of his psalms hath mentioned together his conquest of Moab and Edom, as they are also joined together in this prophecy; *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe.* (Psal. LX. 8. CVIII. 9.) *Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies*, that is for the Israelites. *Seir* is the name of the mountains of Edom, so that even their mountains and fastnesses could not defend the Idumeans from David and his captains. *And Israel shall do valiantly*, as they did particularly under the command of David, several of whose victories are recorded in this same 8th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel together with his conquest of Moab and of Edom. *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city*; not only defeat them in the field, but destroy them

even in their strongest cities, or perhaps some particular city was intended, as we may infer from Psal. LX. 9. CVIII. 10. *Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?* And we read particularly that Joab, David's general, *smote every male in Edom: for six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom.* (1 Kings XI. 15, 16.)

We see how exactly this prophecy hath been fulfilled in the person and actions of David: but most Jewish as well as Christian writers apply it, primarily perhaps to David, but ultimately to the Messiah, as the person chiefly intended, in whom it was to receive its full and entire completion. Onkelos, who is the most ancient and valuable of the Chaldee paraphrasts, interprets it of the Messiah. 'When a prince, (7) says he, shall arise of the house of Jacob, and Christ shall be anointed of the house of Israel, he shall both slay the princes of Moab, and rule over all the sons of men:' and with him agree the other Targums or paraphrases. Maimonides, who is one of the most learned and famous of the Jewish doctors, understands

(7) Cum confurget rex de domo Jacob, et ungetur Christus de domo Israel; et occidet principes Moab, et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum. Onk.

derstands it partly of David, and partly of the Messiah: and with him agree other rabbies, whom you may find cited by the critics and commentators to this purpose. It appears to have been generally understood by the Jews, as a prophecy of the Messiah, because the false Christ, who appeared in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian, (8) assumed the title of *Barchochebas* or *the son of the star*, in allusion to this prophecy, and in order to have it believed that he was the star whom Balaam had seen afar off. The Christian fathers, I think, are unanimous in applying this prophecy to our Saviour, and to the star which appeared at his nativity. Origen in particular saith, that (9) in the law there are many typical and enigmatical references to the Messiah: but he produceth this as one of the plainest and clearest of prophecies: and both (1) Origen and Eusebius affirm, that it was in consequence of Balaam's prophecies, which were known and believed in the east, that the Magi, upon the appearance of a new star, came to Jerusalem to worship him

(8) See Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 6. Chap. 9. Sect. 12.

(9) τυπικῶς μὲν ἐν καὶ αἰνιγματικῶς ἀναφερομένα εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τῶν ἀναγρηγραμμένων ἐν τῷ

νομῷ πλεῖστα ὅσα εἰς εὐφραν-
την γυνώσκονται καὶ ἱερὰ ἐστὶν ἡ
ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ ἀλλὰ
τινα παρὰ ταῦτα. Quamobrem
quam plurima invenire licet
scripta in lege tum typice, tum
obscurè,

obscurè,
Christum
et manife-
stare in præsen-
(1) Origen
Sect. 60.

him who was born king of the Jews. The stream of modern divines and commentators runneth the same way, that is they apply the prophecy principally to our Saviour, and by *Moab* and *Edom* understand the enemies and persecutors of the church. And it must be acknowledged in favor of this opinion, that many prophecies of scripture have a double meaning, literal and mystical, respect two events, and receive a twofold completion. David too was in several things a type and figure of the Messiah. If by *destroying all the children of Sheth* he meant *ruling over all mankind*, this was never fulfilled in David. A star did really appear at our Saviour's nativity, and in scripture he is stiled the *day-star*, (2 Pet. I. 19.) *the morning-star*, (Rev. II. 28.) *the bright and morning-star*, (XXII. 16.) perhaps in allusion to this very prophecy. Dr. Warburton, who improves every subject that he handles, assigns a farther reason. Speaking of the two sorts of metaphor in the ancient use of it, the popular and common, and the hidden and mysterious; he

obscure, quæ referantur ad Christum. Apertiora vero alia, et manifestiora præter hæc, ego in præsentia non video.

(1) Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. 1. Sect. 60. p. 374. Vol. 1. In

Numeros Hom. 13. Sect. 7. p. 321. Vol. 2. Edit. Benedict. Eusebii Demonstrat. Evangel. Lib. 9. Sect. 1. p. 417. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(2) See

he (2) says that "the prophetic writings are
 " full of this kind of metaphor. To instance
 " only in the famous prediction of Balaam—
 " *there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a*
 " *scepter shall rise out of Israel.* This prophecy
 " may possibly in some sense relate to David,
 " but without doubt it belongs principally to
 " Christ. Here the metaphor of a *scepter* was
 " common and popular to denote a ruler, like
 " David; but the *star*, tho' like the other, it
 " signified in the prophetic writings a temporal
 " prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden
 " meaning likewise. A star in the Egyptian
 " hieroglyphics denoted (3) God: (and how
 " much hieroglyphic writing influenced the
 " eastern languages we shall see presently.)
 " Thus God in the prophet Amos, reproving
 " the Israelites for their idolatry on their first
 " coming out of Egypt, says, *Have ye offered*
 " *unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness*
 " *forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have*
 " *borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chium*
 " *your images, the star of your God which ye*
 " *made to yourselves.* (Amos V. 25, 26.) The
 " *star of your God* is here a noble figurative ex-
 " pression

(2) See the Divine Legation &c. Book 4. Sect. 4.

(3) *Asy*

(3) *Asy*
Hierog.

" preffion to signify *the image of your God*; for
 " a *star* being employed in the hieroglyphics
 " to signify *God*, it is used here with great ele-
 " gance to signify the material image of a *God*;
 " the words *the star of your God* being only a
 " repetition (so usual in the Hebrew tongue)
 " of the preceding—*Cbiun your images*; and
 " not (as some critics suppose) the same with
 " *your God star, sidus Deum vestrum*. Hence
 " we conclude that the metaphor here used
 " by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mys-
 " terious kind, and so to be understood; and
 " consequently that it related only to *Christ*,
 " the eternal Son of God." Thus far this ex-
 cellent writer. But tho' for these reasons the
 Messiah might be remotely intended, yet we
 cannot allow that he was intended solely, be-
 cause David might be called a *star* by Balaam,
 as well as other rulers or governors are by Da-
 niel, (VIII. 10.) and by St. John: (Rev. I.
 20.) and we must insist upon it, that the pri-
 mary intention, the litteral meaning of the
 prophecy respects the person and actions of
 David; and for this reason particularly, because
 Balaam is here advertising Balak, *What this*
people

(3) Ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπου ὑποφωτισθῆναι τοὺς ἑβραῖους. Horapol.
 Hierog. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

(4) Principium

people should do to his people in the latter days, that is what the Israelites should do to the Moabites hereafter.

From the Moabites he turned his eyes more to the south and west, and *looked* on their neighbours, the Amalekites; and *took up his parable, and said*, (ver. 20.) *Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever. Amalek was the first of the nations*, the first and most powerful of the neighbouring nations, or the first that warred against Israel, as it is in the margin of our bibles. The latter interpretation is proposed by (4) Onkelos and other Jews, I suppose because they would not allow the Amalekites to be a more ancient nation than themselves: but most good critics prefer the former interpretation as more easy and natural, and for a very good reason, because the Amalekites appear to have been a very ancient nation. They are reckoned among the most ancient nations thereabouts, (1 Sam. XXVII. 8.)—*the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites; for these nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.* They are mentioned

(4) Principium bellorum Israel fuit Amalech. Onk.

(5) See

(5) See
Vol. i.

tioned as early as in the wars of Chedorlaomer : (Gen. XIV. 7.) so that they must have been a nation before the times of Abraham and Lot, and consequently much older than the Moabites, or Edomites, or any of the nations descended from those patriarchs. And this is a demonstrative argument, that the Amalekites did not descend from Amalek, the son of Eliphaz and grandson of Esau, as many have supposed only for the similitude of names ; (Gen. XXXVI. 12.) but sprung from some other stock, and probably, as the Arabian writers affirm from Amalek or Amlak, the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. *Amlak et Amlik*, fils de Cham, fils de Noé—C'est celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amalec pere des Amalecites : so saith Herbelot ; but it is to be wished that this valuable and useful author had cited his authorities. According to the (5) Arabian historians too, they were a great and powerful nation, subdued Egypt, and held it in subjection several years. They must certainly have been more powerful, or at least more courageous, than the neighbouring nations, because they ventured to attack the Israelites, of whom
the

(5) See Univerf. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 3. p. 281. Folio Edit. Vol. 1.

(6) Hic

the other nations were afraid. But tho' they were the first, the most ancient and powerful of the neighbouring nations; yet *their latter end shall be that they perish for ever.* Here Balaam unwittingly confirms what God had before denounced by Moses, (Exod. XVII. 14.) *And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will (or rather that I will) utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.* Balaam had before declared, that the king of Israel should prevail over the king of Amalek; but here the menace is carried farther, and Amalek is consigned to utter destruction. This sentence was in great measure executed by Saul, who *smote the Amalekites, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.* (1 Sam. XV. 7, 8.) When they had recovered a little, David and his men went up and invaded them; and David *smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel.* (1 Sam. XXVII. 8, 9.) David made a farther slaughter and conquest of them at Ziklag: (1 Sam. XXX.) and at last *the sons of Simeon, in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt in their habitations.* (1 Chron. IV. 41,

42, 43.) And where is the name or the nation of Amalek subsisting at this day? What history, what tradition concerning them is remaining any where? They are but just enough known and remembered to show, that what God had threatened he hath punctually fulfilled; *I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; and his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.*

Then he looked on the Kenites: and took up his parable, and said, (ver. 21, 22.) *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Ashur shall carry thee away captive.* Commentators are perplexed, and much at a loss to say with any certainty who *these Kenites* were. There are *Kenites* mentioned (Gen. XV. 19.) among the Canaanitish nations, whose land was promised unto Abraham; and (6) Le Clerc imagines that *those Kenites* were the people here intended: But the Canaanitish nations are not the subject of Balaam's prophecies; and the Canaanitish nations were to be rooted out, but *these Kenites* were to continue as long as the Israelites themselves, and to be carried captive with

(6) Hic antiquiores illi Kenai intelligendi. Le Clerc in locum.

(7) Horum

with them by the Assyrians; and in the opinion of (7) Bochart, *those Kenites* as well as the Kenizzites became extinct in the interval of time which passed between Abraham and Moses, being not mentioned by Joshua in the division of the land, nor reckoned among the nations conquered by him. The most probable account of *these Kenites* I conceive to be this. Jethro, the father in law of Moses, is called in one place *the priest of Midian*, (Exod. III. 1.) and in another *the Kenite*. (Judg. I. 16.) We may infer therefore that the *Midianites* and the *Kenites* were the same, or at least that the *Kenites* were some of the tribes of Midian. The *Midianites* are said to be confederates with the *Moabites* in the beginning of the story, and the elders of Midian as well as the elders of Moab invited Balaam to come and curse Israel; and one would naturally expect some notice to be taken of them or their tribes in the course of these prophecies. Now of the *Kenites*, it appears, that part followed Israel: (Judg. I. 16.) but the greater part, we may presume, remained among the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*. We read in 1 Sam. (XV. 6.) that there were *Kenites*

(7) Horum ego nomen delatum fuisse putaverim in eo temporis intervallo, quod inter

Abrahami et Moſis ævum interceſſit. Id certe neceſſe eſt, in obſcuro latuiſſe tempore Joſue

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Vol. I.

Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, and so the Kenites are fitly mentioned here next after the Amalekites. Their situation is said to be strong and secure among the mountains, *Strong in thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock*; wherein is an allusion to the name, the same word in Hebrew signifying a *nest* and a *Kenite*. *Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asbur carry thee away captive.* The Amalekites were to be utterly destroyed, but the Kenites were to be carried captive. And accordingly when Saul was sent by divine commission to destroy the Amalekites, he ordered the Kenites to depart from among them. (1 Sam. XV. 6.) *And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt; for the kindness which some of them showed to Israel, their posterity was saved. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites.* This sheweth that they were *wasted*, and reduced to a low and weak condition: and as the kings of Assyria carried captive not only the Jews, but also the Syrians

in nec in divisione terræ, nec
censu gentium a se devicta-
m illorum meminit uspiam.
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Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 36. Col.
397.

L

(8) Noldii

Syrians (2 Kings XVI. 9.) and several other nations; (2 Kings XIX. 12, 13.) it is most highly probable that the Kenites shared the same fate with their neighbours, and were carried away by the same torrent; and especially as we find some Kenites mentioned among the Jews after their return from captivity. (1 Chron. II. 55.)

The next verse, (ver. 23.) *And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!* is by several commentators referred to what precedes, but it relates rather to what follows. *And he took up his parable, and said:* this preface is used, when he enters upon some new subject. *Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!* this exclamation implies, that he is now prophesying of very distant and very calamitous times. *And ships,* or rather *for ships*, as the particle *καὶ* often signifies, and this instance among others is cited by (8) Noldius. *For ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict Eber, and also shall perish for ever.* (ver. 24.)

Chittim was one of the sons of Javan, who

(8) Noldii Part 1 37.

(9) Grotius in locum et Clericus in locum, et in Genes. X. 4.

(1) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 3.

Cap. 5. et Vitrina in Iesaiam XXIII. 1.

(2) καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα

καὶ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα
[hima] infu
ue loca m

was one of the sons of Japheth, by whose posterity *the iles of the Gentiles* (Gen. X. 5.) were divided and peopled, that is Europe, and the countries to which the Asiatics passed by sea, for such the Hebrews called *ilands*. *Chittim* is used for the descendents of Chittim, as *Asfbur* is put for the descendents of Ashur, that is the Assyrians: but what people were the descendents of *Chittim*, or what country was meant by *the coasts of Chittim*, it is not so easy to determine. The critics and commentators are generally divided into two opinions, the one asserting that Macedonia, and the other that Italy was the country here intended: and each opinion is recommended and authoris'd by some of the first and greatest names in learning; as not to mention any others, (9) Grotius and Le Clerc contend for the former, (1) Bochart and Vitringa are strenuous for the latter. But there is no reason why we may not adopt both opinions; and especially as it is very well known and agreed on all hands, that colonies came from Greece to Italy; and as (2) Josephus saith, that all ilands and most maritim places are

παρα θαλασσαν, χθηνι υπο Εβραι- Chethim dicuntur. Antiq. Lib.
 ονομαζ-ται. Et ab ea [Che- 1. Cap. 6. p. 17. Edit. Hudson.
 thima] insulæ omnes, et plera- Vol. 1.
 que loca maritima ab Hebræis

are called *Chethim* by the Hebrews; and as manifest traces of the name are to be found in both countries, the ancient name of Macedonia having been (3) *Macettia*, and the Latins having before been called *Cetii*. What appears most probable is, that the sons of Chittim settled first in Asia Minor, where were a people called *Cetëi*, and a river called *Cetium*, according to (4) Homer and Strabo. From Asia they might pass over into the island Cyprus, which (5) Josephus saith was possessed by *Chethim*, and called *Chethima*; and where was also the city *Cittium*, famous for being the birth-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics, who was therefore called the *Cittian*. And from thence they might send forth colonies into Greece and Italy. This plainly appears, that wherever the *land of Chittim* or the *iles of Chittim* are mentioned in scripture, there are evidently meant some countries or islands in the Mediterranean.

Isaiah prophesying of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, saith (XXIII. 1.) *Howl, ye ships of Tarshish*, that is the ships trading from

(3) Vide Bochartum *ibid.*

(4) Homer. *Odyss.* XI. 520.
et Scholiast. *ibid.* Strabo *Geograph. Lib.* 13. p. 915, 916.

Vol. 2. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(5) Χαθιμοὶ δὲ Κεθίμα τῆς
ἡσίου ἐσθλῆς. Κυπρὸς αὐτῇ
καλεῖται. Chethimus autem
Cheti

Chetimam i
pla vero nur
Josephus *ibid.*

from Tyre to Tartessus in Spain; *for Tyre is laid waste: from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them*; the news is brought first to the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, and from thence it is conveyed to Spain; and afterwards (ver. 12.) *Arise, pass over to Chittim, there also shalt thou have no rest*; the inhabitants might fly from Tyre, and pass over to the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean, but even there they should find no secure place of refuge; God's judgments should still pursue them. Jeremiah exostulating with the Jews concerning their causeless revolt, saith (II. 10.) *Pass over to the iles of Chittim, and see, that is the iles in the Mediterranean which lay westward of Judea; and send unto Kedar, which was in Arabia and lay eastward of Judea; and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing; go search east and west, and see if you can find any such instance of apostasy as this of the Jews.* Ezekiel describing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their shipping, saith (XXVII. 6.) according to the (6) true reading and interpretation of the words, *they made their benches of*

Chetimam insulam occupavit: (6) Bochart ibid. et Hiero-
 zoa vero nunc Cyprus vocatur. zoic. pars. prior. Lib. 2. Cap.
 Josephus ibid. 24.

of ivory inlaid on box, brought out of the iles of Chittim, that is out of the iles of the Mediterranean, and most probably from Corfica, which was famous above all places for box, as Bochart hath proved by the testimonies of Pliny, Theophrastus, and Diodorus. Daniel foretelling the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes, saith (XI. 29, 30.) that he should come toward the south, that is invade Egypt, but the ships of Chittim shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved and return: the ships of Chittim can be none other than the ships of the Romans, whose (7) embassadors coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and disappointment, to depart from Egypt without accomplishing his designs. The author of the first book of Maccabees, speaking of Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian, saith (I. 1.) that he came out of the land of Chettiim: and afterwards (VIII. 5.) Perseus, the last king of Macedon, he calleth king of the Cittims. By these instances it appears, that the land of Chittim was a general name for the countries and ilands in the Mediterranean: and therefore

(7) Vide Livii Lib. 45. Cap. 10, 11, 12. Polyb. Legat. p. 915, 916. Edit. Casaubon.

(8) Tam laté patuit hoc nomen quam laté patuit imperium.—multi veterum Syros Assyrios p. Bochart. Ph. Col. 72.

therefore when Balaam said that *ships should come from the coast of Chittim*, he might mean either Greece, or Italy, or both, the particular names of those countries being at that time perhaps unknown in the east: and the passage may be the better understood of both, because it was equally true of both, and Greece and Italy were alike the scourges of Asia.

And shall afflict Asshur. *Asshur*, as we noted before, signifies properly the descendents of Asshur, the Assyrians: but (8) their name was of as large extent as their empire, and the Syrians and Assyrians are often confounded together, and mentioned as one and the same people. Now it is so well known as to require no particular proof, that the Grecians under the command of Alexander the great subdued all those countries. The Romans afterwards extended their empire into the same regions; and as (9) Dion informs us, Assyria properly so called was conquered by the emperor Trajan.

And shall afflict Eber. Two interpretations are proposed of the word *Eber*, either the posterity of a man so called, or the people who dwelt

Assyrios pro iisdem habent.
Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 2. Cap.
Col. 72.

(9) Dionis Hist. Rom. Lib.
68. p. 783. Edit. Leunclav.
Hanov. 1606.

dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates. If by *Eber* we understand the posterity of Eber, as by *Asshur* the posterity of Asshur, which appears a very natural construction; then Balaam, who was commissioned to bless Israel at first, prophesied evil concerning them at last, though under another name: but men and manners usually degenerate in a long course of time; and as the virtues of the progenitors might intitle them to a blessing, so the vices of the descendents might render them obnoxious to a curse. However we may avoid this seeming inconsistency, if we follow the other interpretation, and by *Eber* understand the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates, which sense is given by (1) Onkelos, and is approved by several of the ancients, as well as by many of the most able commentators among the moderns, and is particularly enforced by a learned (2) professor of eminent skill in the oriental languages. The two members of the period would then better connect together, and the sense of the latter would be somewhat exegetical of the former; *and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber*, shall afflict the Assyrians and other neighbouring nations bordering upon the

(1) Et subicient trans flumen Euphratem. Onk.

(2) Hyde

the river Euphrates. And this interpretation I would readily embrace, if I could see any instance of a parallel expression. *Beyond the river*, meaning Euphrates, is indeed a phrase that sometimes occurs in scripture, and the concordance will supply us with instances: but where doth *beyond* alone ever bear that signification? I know Gen. X. 21. is usually cited for this purpose; but that text is as much controverted as this, and the question is the same there as here, whether *Eber* be the proper name of a man, or only a preposition signifying *beyond*, and *beyond* signifying the people beyond the river Euphrates; or in other words, whether the passage should be translated *the father of all the children of Eber*, or *the father of all the children of the people on the other side of the river Euphrates*. Isaiah's manner of speaking of the same people is *by them beyond the river*, *by the king of Assyria*: (VII. 20.) and one would expect the like here, *shall afflict Asshur*, and *shall afflict them beyond the river*. But which ever of these interpretations we prefer, the prophecy was alike fulfilled. If we understand it of the people bordering upon the Euphrates, they as well as the Assyrians were subdued both by the Grecians,

(2) Hyde Hist. Relig. Vet. Perf. Cap. 2. p. 52—57.

(1) See

Grecians and Romans. If we understand it of the posterity of Eber, the Hebrews were afflicted, though not much by Alexander himself, yet by his successors the Seleucidæ, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who spoiled Jerusalem, defiled the temple, and slew all those who adhered to the law of Moses. (1 Maccab. I.) They were worse afflicted by the Romans, who not only subdued and oppressed them, and made their country a province of the empire, but at last took away their place and nation, and sold and dispersed them over the face of the earth.

And he also shall perish for ever, that is Asshur and Eber mentioned as one and the same people, or rather Chittim: *and he also shall be even to perdition*, he also shall be destroyed as well as Amalek, for in the original the words are the same concerning both. If *Asshur* be meant, the Assyrian empire was destroyed and perished long ago. If *Chittim* be meant, the Grecian empire was entirely subverted by the Roman, and the Roman in its turn was broken into pieces, some fragments only of which are now remaining.

It appears then that Balaam was a prophet divinely inspired, or he could never have foretold so many distant events, some of which are fulfilling

fulfilling in the world at this time: and what a singular honor was it to the people of Israel, that a prophet called from another country, and at the same time a wicked man, should be obliged to bear testimony to their righteousness and holiness? The commendations of an enemy, among enemies, are commendations indeed. And Moses did justice to himself as well as to his nation in recording these transactions. They are not only a material part of his history, but are likewise a strong confirmation of the truth of his religion. Balaam's bearing witness to Moses is somewhat like Judas's attesting the innocence of Jesus.

VI. MOSES'S



VI.

MOSES'S *prophecy of a prophet like unto himself.*

MOSES is a valuable writer, as upon many accounts, so particularly upon this, that he hath not only preserved and transmitted to posterity several ancient prophecies, but hath likewise shown himself a prophet, and inserted several predictions of his own. Among these none is more memorable, than that of another prophet to be raised like unto himself. He was now about to leave his people, and comforts them with the promise of another prophet. Deut. XVIII. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.* The same is repeated at ver. 18, in the name of God, *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.* It

(1) See Munster, Drufius, Fagius, Calmet &c.

(2) See

is farther added at ver. 19. *And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* Plain as this prophecy is, it hath strangely been perverted and misapplied: but I conceive nothing will be wanting to the right understanding both of the prophecy and the completion, if we can show first what prophet was here particularly intended, if we show secondly that this prophet resembled Moses in more respects than any other person ever did, and if we show thirdly that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet.

I. We will endeavor to show what prophet was here particularly intended. Some have been of opinion, (1) that Joshua was the person; because he is said in Ecclesiasticus (XLVI. 1.) to have been *successor of Moses in prophecies*: and as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, *unto him ye shall hearken*; so they said unto Joshua (I. 17.) *According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee.* Some again have imagined, (2) that Jeremiah was the person; because he frequently

(2) See Munster, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet &c.

(3) See

quently applies (say they) the words of Moses; and Abarbinel in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they resemble each other, and observes that Jeremiah prophesied forty years, as Moses also did. Others, and those many more in number, (3) understand this neither of Joshua, nor of Jeremiah, nor of any single person, but of a succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses; because (say they) the people being here forbidden to follow after *inchanters* and *diviners*, as other nations did, nothing would have secured them effectually from following after them, but having true prophets of their own, whom they might consult upon occasion; and the latter are opposed to the former. But still the prepounders and favorers of these different opinions, I think, agree generally in this, that tho' Joshua, or Jeremiah, or a succession of prophets was primarily intended, yet the main end and ultimate scope of the prophecy was the Messiah: and indeed there appear some very good reasons for understanding it of him principally, if not of him solely, besides the preference of a literal to a typical interpretation.

There is cor
by Ezra

(3) See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc, Calmet &c.

(4) Euseb

There is a passage in the conclusion of this book of Deuteronomy, which plainly refers to this prophecy, and entirely refutes the notion of Joshua's being the prophet like unto Moses. *And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel bearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses. And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: In all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do &c.* We cannot be certain at what time, or by what hand this addition was made to the sacred volume: but it must have been made after the death of Moses; and consequently Joshua was not a prophet like unto Moses in the opinion of the Jewish church, both of those who made and of those who received this addition as canonical scripture. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel;* the manner of expression plainly implies, that this addition must have been made at some considerable distance of time after the death of Moses; and consequently the Jewish church had no conception of a perpetual succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses: and if this addition was made, as it is commonly believed to have been made, by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, then it

is evident, that neither Jeremiah nor any of the ancient prophets was esteemed like unto Moses.

Consider what are the peculiar marks and characters, wherein it is said that none other prophet had ever resembled Moses. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.* And which of the prophets ever conversed so frequently and familiarly with God, *face to face*? which of them ever wrought so many and so great miracles? No body was ever equal or comparable to Moses in these respects, but Jesus the Messiah.

God's declaration too, upon occasion of Miriam's and Aaron's sedition, plainly evinces that there was to be no prophet in the Jewish church, and much less a succession of prophets like unto Moses. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moses, and mutinied against him, saying *Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?* (Numb. XII. 2.) The controversy was of such importance, that God himself interposed; and what was his determination in the case? *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faith-*

ful

*ful in all mine house. With him will I speak
mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark
speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall be
behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak
against my servant Moses? (ver. 6, 7, 8.)* We
see here that a great difference was made be-
tween Moses and other prophets, and also
wherein that difference lay. God revealed
himself unto other prophets in *dreams and vi-
sions*, but with Moses he conversed more open-
ly, *mouth to mouth*, or, as it is said elsewhere,
face to face: and Moses *saw the similitude of
the Lord*. These were singular privileges and
prerogatives, which eminently distinguished
Moses from all the other prophets of the Jewish
dispensation: and yet there was a prophet to
be raised up like unto Moses: but who ever
resembled Moses in these superior advantages,
but Jesus the Messiah?

It is likewise no inconsiderable argument,
that the letter of the text favors our interpreta-
tion. The word is in the singular number,
*The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a pro-
phet*; and why then should we understand it of
a succession of prophets? why should we de-
part from the literal construction without any
apparent necessity for it? Other nations heark-
ened unto enchanters and diviners, but the Lord

would not suffer them so to do; he had given them a better guide already, and would raise up unto them another prophet superior to all the inchanters and diviners in the world: unto him they should hearken.

Moreover it is implied, that this prophet should be a lawgiver. *A prophet like unto thee*; not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is a second lawgiver, as (4) Eusebius explains it. The reason too that is assigned for sending this prophet, will evince that he was to be vested with this character. The people had requested, that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in so terrible and awful a manner, as they were in Horeb. God approved their request, and promised therefore, that he would raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses, a lawgiver who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a lawgiver: but none of the Jewish prophets were lawgivers, in all the

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(4) Eusebii Demonf. Evangel. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 6. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. p. 443. Edit. Paris, 1628.

(5) See Smith's Discourse of Prophecy. Chap. 2. and 11, wherein it is shown from Mai-

monides, that Moses's inspiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets prophesied in a dream or vision, but Moses waking and standing. 2. All other prophets prophesied by the help or ministry of an angel, but Moses

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intermediate time between Moses and Christ.

If we farther appeal unto fact, we shall find that there never was any prophet, and much less a succession of prophets, whom the Jews esteemed like unto Moses. The highest degree of inspiration they term the (5) Mosaical, and enumerate several particulars, wherein that hath the præeminence and advantage above all others. There was indeed, in consequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of some extraordinary prophet to arise, which prevailed particularly about the time of our Saviour. The Jews then, as well as (6) since, understood and applied this prophecy to the Messiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great or greater than Moses. When our Saviour had fed five thousand men, by a miracle like that of Moses, who fed the Israelites in the wilderness, then those men said *This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.* (John VI. 14.) St. Peter and St. Stephen directly apply the prophecy to him:

(Acts

prophefied without the ministry of an angel. 3. All other prophefies at what time they would, save Moses.

phets were afraid, and troubled, and fainted, but Moses was not so, for the scripture saith that *God spake to him as a man speaketh to his friend.*

4. None of the prophets did

(6) See authorities cited in Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity. Chap. 6. Sect. 2. p. 307. Edit. 3d.

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(7) Eusebii

(Acts III. 22, 23. VII. 37.) and they may very well be justified for so doing; for he fully answers all the marks and characters, which are here given of the prophet like unto Moses. He had immediate communication with the deity, and God spake to him *face to face*, as he did to Moses. He performed *signs and wonders* as great or greater than those of Moses. He was a *lawgiver* as well as Moses. *I will raise them up a prophet*, saith God; and the people glorified God, saying, *That a great prophet is risen up among us.* (Luke VII. 16.) *I will put my words in his mouth*, saith God, in Hebrew will give my words; and our Saviour saith, *I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me.* (John XVII. 8.) *He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him*, saith God, and our Saviour saith, *I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.* (John XII. 49, 50.)

II. We shall be more and more confirmed in this opinion, when we consider the great striking likeness between Moses and Jesus Christ, and that the latter resembled the former

in more respects than any other person ever did. Notice hath been taken already of some instances, wherein they resemble each other, of God speaking to both *face to face*, of both performing *signs and wonders*, of both being *lawgivers*: and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were lawgivers; they only interpreted and enforced the law of Moses. None of them performed so many and so great wonders. None of them had such clear communications with God; they all saw visions, and dreamed dreams. Moses and Jesus Christ are the only two, who perfectly resemble each other in these respects. But a more exact and particular comparison may be drawn between them; and hath been drawn by two eminent hands, by one of the best and ablest of the ancient fathers, and by one of the most learned and ingenious of modern divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any thing to them, we must be content to copy from them.

Eusebius treating of the prophecies concerning Christ, (7) produceth first this of Moses; and then asketh, which of the prophets after Moses,

(7) Eusebii Demonst. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. p. 90—94. Edit. Paris, 1628.

Moses, Ifaiah for instance, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any other of the twelve, was a lawgiver, and performed things like unto Moses? Moses first rescued the Jewish nation from Egyptian superstition and idolatry, and taught them the true theology; Jesus Christ in like manner was the first teacher of true religion and virtue to the Gentiles. Moses confirmed his religion by miracles; and so likewise did Christ. Moses delivered the Jewish nation from Egyptian servitude; and Jesus Christ all mankind from the power of evil demons. Moses promised a holy land, and therein a happy life to those who kept the law; and Jesus Christ a better country, that is a heavenly, to all righteous souls. Moses fasted forty days; and so likewise did Christ. Moses supplied the people with bread in the wilderness; and our Saviour fed five thousand at one time, and four thousand at another, with a few loaves. Moses went himself, and led the people thro' the midst of the sea; and Jesus Christ walked on the sea, and enabled Peter to walk likewise. Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go backward; and our Saviour rebuked the wind and the sea, and there was a great calm. Moses's face shone when he descended from the mount, and our Saviour

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Saviour's did shine as the sun in his transfiguration. Moses by his prayers cured Miriam of her leprosy; and Christ with greater power by a word healed several lepers. Moses performed wonders by the finger of God; and Jesus Christ by the finger of God did cast out devils. Moses changed Oshea's name to Joshua; and our Saviour did Simon's to Peter. Moses constituted seventy rulers over the people; and our Saviour appointed seventy disciples. Moses sent forth twelve men to spy out the land; and our Saviour twelve apostles to visit all nations. Moses gave several excellent moral precepts; and our Saviour carried them to the highest perfection.

Dr. Jortin (8) hath enlarged upon these hints of Eusebius, and made several improvements, and additions to them. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the destruction of all the male children; so was Christ. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king; so did Christ, when his parents carried him into Egypt: Afterwards *the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life; (Exod. IV. 19.)* so the angel of the Lord

(8) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 1. p. 203—222.

Lord said to Joseph in almost the same words, *Arise, and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life;* (Matt. II. 20.) pointing him out as it were for that prophet, who should arise like unto Moses. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction; Christ refused to be made king, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Moses, says St. Stephen, *was learned, ἐπαίδευθη, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,* and Josephus (Ant. Jud. II. 9.) says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years; St. Luke observes of Christ, that *he increased* (betimes) *in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man,* and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. Moses contended with the magicians, who were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted; Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowledgements from them. Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. Moses brought darkness over the land; the sun withdrew his light

at Christ's crucifixion: And as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first born, and of Pharaoh and his host; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews. Moses foretold the calamities which would befall the nation for their disobedience; so did Christ. The spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied; Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples. Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; so was Christ by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his church. Moses conquered Amalec by holding up both his hands; Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God; so did Christ. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people by sprinkling them with blood; Christ with his own blood. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book; Christ did more, he died for sinners. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were

to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction; Christ was that paschal lamb. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; Christ was that serpent. All Moses's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits. Moses was ill used by his own family, his brother and sister rebelled against him; there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavor to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain; in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two: Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed. Moses was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; so was Christ. The people could not enter into the land of promise

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till Moses was dead ; by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances : Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people ; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him ; Moses went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigor, when *his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated* : Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent ; their sufferings were of another kind. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay ; nor could the Jews find the body of Christ. Lastly as Moses a little before death promised *another prophet* ; so Christ *another comforter*.

The great similitude consists in their both being *lawgivers*, which no prophet ever was besides Moses and Christ. They may resemble each

each other in several other features, and a fruitful imagination may find out a likeness where there is none. But as the same excellent writer concludes, "Is this similitude
 "and correspondence in so many things be-
 "tween Moses and Christ the effect of mere
 "chance? Let us search all the records of
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 "man who was so like to Moses as Christ
 "was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If
 "we cannot find such a one, then have we
 "found him of whom Moses in the law, and
 "the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth,
 "the Son of God."

III. There is no want of many words to prove, for it is visible to all the world, that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet. The prophecy is clear and express; *Unto him ye shall hearken; And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him*, that is I will severely punish him for it, as the phrase signifies elsewhere. The antecedent is put for the consequent: judges first inquired, then punished: and the Seventy translate it, (9) *I will take vengeance of him*. This

prophecy

(9) *ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ*. Sept.

prophecy, as we have proved at large, evidently relates to Jesus Christ. God himself in a manner applies it to him: for when he was transfigured, (Matt. XVII. 5.) there came a voice out of the cloud, which said, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him;* alluding plainly to the words of Moses, *Unto him ye shall hearken,* and so pointing him out for the prophet like unto Moses. St. Peter, as we noted before, directly applies it to our Saviour, (Acts III. 22, 23.) *For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people;* which is the sense rather than the words of the prophecy. And hath not this terrible denunciation been fully executed upon the Jews? Was not the complete excision of that incredulous nation, soon after Jesus had finished his ministry among them, and his apostles had likewise preached in vain, the fulfilling of the threat upon them for not hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application, as our Saviour himself not only denounced the same destruction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the circum-

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circumstances of it, with a particularity and exactness that will amaze us, as we shall see in a proper place: and those of the Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution and following the advice which he had given them, escaped from the general ruin of their country, like firebrands plucked out of the fire. The main body of the nation either perished in their infidelity, or were carried captive into all nations: and have they not ever since persisting in the same infidelity, been obnoxious to the same punishment, and been a vagabond, distressed, and miserable people in the earth? The hand of God was scarce ever more visible in any of his dispensations. We must be blind not to see it: and seeing, we cannot but admire, and adore it. What other probable account can they themselves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery? Their former captivity for the punishment of all their wickedness and idolatry lasted only seventy years: but they have lived in their present dispersion, even tho' they have been no idolaters, now these seventeen hundred years, and yet without any immediate prospect of their restoration: and what enormous crime could have drawn down, and unrepented of still continued to draw down, these heavy judgments upon them

them? We say that they were cut off for their infidelity; and that when they shall turn to the faith, they will be grafted in again. One would think, it should be worth their while to try the experiment. Sure we are, that they have long been monuments of God's justice; we believe, that upon their faith and repentance they will become again objects of his mercy: and in the mean time with St. Paul, (Rom. X. 1.) *our hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved.*



VII.

Prophecies of MOSES concerning the Jews.

IT is observable that the prophecies of Moses abound most in the latter part of his writings. As he drew nearer his end, it pleased God to open to him larger prospects of things. As he was about to take leave of the people, he was enabled to disclose unto them more particulars of their future state and condition. The design of this work will permit us to take notice of such only as have some reference to the later ages: and we will confine ourselves principally to the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the greater part whereof we may see accomplished in the world at this present time.

This great prophet and lawgiver is here proposing at large to the people the blessings for obedience, and the curses for disobedience; and indeed he had foretold at several times and upon several occasions, that they should be happy or miserable in the world, as they were obedient or disobedient to the law that he had

given them. And could there be any stronger evidence of the divine original of the Mosaical law? and hath not the interposition of providence been wonderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the prediction fully attested by the whole series of their history from their first settlement in Canaan to this very day? But he is larger and more particular in recounting the curses than the blessings, as if he had a prescience of the people's disobedience, and foresaw that a larger portion and longer continuation of the evil would fall to their share, than of the good. I know that some critics make a division of these prophecies, and imagin that one part relates to the former captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Chaldeans; and that the other part relates to the latter captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Romans: but there is no need of any such distinction; there is no reason to think that any such was intended by the author; several prophecies of the one part as well as of the other have been fulfilled at both periods, but they have all more amply been fulfilled during the latter period; and there cannot be more a lively picture than they exhibit, of the state of the Jews at present.

1. We will consider them with a view to the order of time, rather than the order wherein they lie; and we may not improperly begin with this passage, ver. 49, *The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand: and the Chaldæans might be said to come from far, in comparifon with the Moabites, Philiftines, and other neighbours, who ufed to infest Judea. Much the fame description is given of the Chaldæans by Jeremiah, (V. 15.) Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, faith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knoweft not, neither understandeft what they fay. He compares them in like manner to eagles, (Lam. IV. 19.) Our persecutors are fwifter than the eagles of the heaven: they purfued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wildernefs. But this description cannot be applied to any nation with fuch propriety as to the Romans. They were truly brought from far, from the end of the earth. Vefpafian and Adrian, the*

(1) Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἴσον, παρὰ καὶ μὴν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Κ
 τὰς ἡλῶν ἀναίρει, μεθυσ αὐτὸν παρανομίας. et de
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two great conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conquests might very well be compared to eagles, and perhaps not without an allusion to the standard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle: and their language was more unknown to the Jews than the Chaldee.

2. The enemies of the Jews are farther characterized in the next verse, *A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young.* Such were the Chaldæans; and the sacred historian saith expressly, (2 Chron. XXXVI. 17.) that for the wickedness of the Jews God brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand. Such also were the Romans: for when Vespasian entered Gadara, (1) Josephus saith, that ‘ he slew all man by man, the Romans showing mercy to no age, out of hatred to the nation, and remembrance of
‘ their

nulli ætati misericordiam adhibentibus, tam ex odio in gentem, quam memoria iniquitatis

illorum in Cestium. Bel. Jud. Lib. 3. C. 7. Sect. 1. p. 1128. Edit. Hudson.

‘ their former injuries.’ The like slaughter was made at Gamala, (2) ‘ For no body escaped ‘ besides two women, and they escaped by concealing themselves from the rage of the Romans. For they did not so much as spare young children, but every one at that time snatching up many cast them down from the citadel.’

3. Their enemies were also to besiege and take their cities, ver. 52, *And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all thy land.* So Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it, and at the end of three years they took it. (2 Kings XVIII. 9, 10.) So did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them: (Ib. ver. 13.) and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and spoiled Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about. (Ib. XXV. 10.) So likewise the Romans, as we may read in Josephus’s history of the Jewish war, demolished several fortified places, before they besieged and destroyed

(2) διεσώθη διὰ πλὴν δύο γυναικῶν ὑδεις. — διεσώθησαν δὲ, τὰς παρὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὀργῆς Ῥωμαίων λαθεσθαι. ὑδὲ γὰρ ἡπικίων ἐφειδοίτο, πολλὰ δὲ ἑκάς· τότε ἀρπαζόντες ἐσφιν-
 δουν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰκρᾶς. Nemo autem præter duas mulieres interitum effugit.—evaserunt autem, quod iræ Romanorum in excidio sese subduxerint. Nec enim infantibus pepercerunt.

multos

multos vero captos ex bell. Jud. p. 1165 (3) Tacit

destroyed Jerusalem. And the Jews may very well be said to have *trusted in their high and fenced walls*, for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jebusites, the former inhabitants of the place, had done before them: (2 Sam. V. 6, 7.) inasmuch that they are represented saying (Jer. XXI. 13.) *Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitation?* Jerusalem was indeed a very strong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art according to the description of (3) Tacitus as well as of Josephus: and yet (4) how many times was it taken? It was taken by Sishak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Sosius and Herod, before its final destruction by Titus.

4. In these sieges they were to suffer much, and especially from famine, *in the straitness where-with their enemies should distress them*, ver. 53 &c. And accordingly when the king of Syria besieged Samaria, *there was a great famine in Samaria*;

multos vero singuli eo tempore Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5.
 captos ex arce projiciebant. Cap. 4 et 5.
 Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. C. 1. Sect. (4) See Josephus de Bell.
 o. p. 1165. Edit. Hudson, Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. ult. p. 1292.
 (3) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. Jo- Edit. Hudson.

maria; and behold they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves dung for five pieces of silver. (2 Kings VI. 25.) And when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land. (2 Kings XXV. 3.) And in the last siege of Jerusalem by the Romans there was a most terrible famine in the city, and Josephus hath given so melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it without shuddring. He saith, particularly, (5) that 'women snatched the food out of the very mouths of their husbands and sons of their fathers, and (what is most miserable) mothers of their infants:' and in (6) another place he saith, that 'in every house, if there appeared any semblance of food, a battle ensued, and the dearest friends and relations fought with one another, snatching away the miserable provisions of life:' so literally were the words of Moses fulfilled, ver. 54 &c, the man's eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and towards his children, because he hath

nothing

(5) γυναῖκες γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ το σκεπτατοὶ μητέρες ἡπτιῶν ἐξήραζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τροφῶν τὰς τροφάς. Siquidem uxores viris, et filii parentibus, et, quod omnium maxi-

me miserabile erat, matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant. Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(6) Καὶ ἐκαστὴν γὰρ οἰκίαν ἢ πρὸς τροφῆς παρὰ φανίαν

nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates, and in like manner the woman's eye shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter.

5. Nay it was expressly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women should eat their own children. Moses had foretold the same thing before, Levit. XXVI. 29, *Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat.* He repeats it here ver. 53, *And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters:* and more particularly ver. 56 &c, *The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness—she shall eat her children for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates.* And it was fulfilled about 600 years after the time of Moses among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria, and two women agreed together, the one to give up her

οικος ην, και δια χειρων εχωνεν οι
φιταλοι προς αλληλους, εξαπαζοντες
τα ταλαιπωρα της ψυχης σφοδια.
Per singulas quippe domos fi-
guri vel umbra apparuisset cibi,
bellum illico, gerebatur, et ami-

cissimi quique inter se acriter
dimicabant, sibi invicem misera
vitæ subsidia eripientes. Lib. 6.
Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1274. Edit.
Hudson.

her son to be boiled and eaten to day, and the other to deliver up her son to be dressed and eaten to morrow, and one of them was eaten accordingly. (2 Kings VI. 28, 29.) It was fulfilled again about 900 years after the time of Moses among the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonish captivity; and Baruch thus expresth it, (II. 1, &c.) *The Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, to bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses, that a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter: and Jeremiah thus laments it in his Lamentations, (IV. 10.) The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people.* And again it was fulfilled above 1500 years after the time of Moses in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and we read in Josephus particularly of a noble woman's killing and eating her own sucking child. Moses saith, *The tender and delicate woman among you, who would*

(7) δια γεν^{ος} και πλεον επιση-
μο^ς genere atque opibus illust-
tris — ταυτης την μεν αλλην
κτησιν οι τυραννοι διηρπασαν,

κ. τ. λ. Hujus alias quidem
facultates jam tyranni diripue-
rant &c. — επιτ' οπησασα τ
μεν ημιν κατεσθην, το δε λαο^ς

κατακα-
ctum deino-
idum ejus

not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness: and there cannot be a more natural and lively description of a woman, who was according to (7) Josephus illustrious for her family and riches. Moses saith, *she shall eat them for want of all things*: and according to Josephus she had been plundered of all her substance and provisions by the tyrants and soldiers. Moses saith, that she should do it *secretly*: and according to Josephus, when she had boiled and eaten half, she covered up the rest, and kept it for another time. At so many different times and distant periods hath this prophecy been fulfilled; and one would have thought that such distress and horror had almost transcended imagination, and much less that any person could certainly have foreseen and foretold it.

6. Great numbers of them were to be destroyed, ver. 62. *And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude.* Now not to mention any other of the calamities and slaughters which they have undergone, there was in the last siege of Jeru-

κατακαύσασα ἑφελαιεν.

etum deinde ipsa quidem di-
cidium ejus comedit, adoper-

tum vero reliquum servabat.
Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect.
4. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Tw

Jerusalem by Titus an infinite multitude, faith (8) Josephus, who perished by famine: and he computes, that during the whole siege, the number of those who were destroyed by that and by the war amounted to eleven hundred thousand, the people being assembled from all parts to celebrate the passover: and the same author hath given us an account of 1240490 destroyed in Jerusalem and other parts of Judea, besides 99200 made prisoners; as (9) Bafnage has reckoned them up from that historian's account. Indeed there is not a nation upon earth, that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions. Their history abounds with them. If God had not given them a promise of a numerous posterity, the whole race would many a time have been extirpated.

7. They were to be carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a very low price, ver. 68, *And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again, with*

(8) Τῶν δ' ἰπὸ τῆς λιμῆς φθι-
ρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπείρων μὲν
ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πλοῦτος. Eorum autem
qui per civitatem fame perierunt
infinita quidem cecidit multi-
tudo. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap.
3. Sect. 3. p. 1274.

τῶν δ' ἀπολειμμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν
τὴν πόλιν [ἀριθμῶ] μυριάδας
ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα. totius autem

obsidionis tempore undecies cen-
tena hominum millia perierunt
Ib. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291.
Edit. Hudson.

(9) Hist. of the Jews, B. 1.
Ch. 8. Sect. 19. See too the
conclusion of Usher's Annals.

(1) Joseph. Ant. Lib. 1.
Cap. 1 et 2.

(2) — τὴν ἰπὸς ἐπὶ τὴν

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δύσας ἐπὶ
πυρὶ ἀργα-
μαίδικα ἔτω
αὐτῶν
ἡμερῶν
πρὸς τοὺς μὲν
jores vineto
enda in A
Quicunque
um aetatis

ships: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.

They had come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they should return thither as slaves. They had walked thro' the sea as dry land at their coming out, but now they should be carried thither in ships. They might be carried thither in the ships of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans who had a fleet in the Mediterranean: and this was a much safer way of conveying so many prisoners, than sending them by land. It appears from (1) Josephus that in the reigns of the two first Ptolemies many of the Jews were slaves in Egypt. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, (2) of the captives who were above 17 years he sent many bound to the works in Egypt; those under 17 were sold: but so little care was taken of these captives, that eleven thousand of them perished for want. And we learn from (3) St. Jerome, that 'after their
' last

ὅσας ἐπέμεινεν εἰς τὰ κατ' ἑκαστὴν ἔτη, — οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ
καταδύσει ἐτὼν ἐπαρῆσαν. ἐφθα-
ναι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν αἷς διεκρίνεν ὁ
κύριος ἡμέρας ὑπ' ὕδατος, καὶ
ἐπερ τοῖς μυριασιν. annis XVII
jores victos ad metalla ex-
enda in Ægyptum misit;
Quicunque vero infra XVII
annos ætatis erant, sub corona

venditi sunt. Iisdem autem
diebus, dum a Frontone scer-
nebantur, ex inedia perierunt
XI millia. Bell. Jud. Lib. 6.
Cap. 9. Sect. 2. p. 1291. Edit,
Hudson.

(3)—post ultimam ever-
sionem quam sustinuerunt ab Adri-
ano, multa hominum millia ve-
nundata sint; et quæ vendi non
potuerint,

‘last overthrow by Adrian, many thousands
 ‘of them were sold, and those who could not
 ‘be sold, were transported into Egypt, and
 ‘perished by shipwrack or famine, or were
 ‘massacred by the inhabitants.’

8. They were to be rooted out of their own land, ver. 63. *And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it.* They were indeed *plucked from off their own land*, when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captive to Babylon; and when the Romans took away their place and nation; besides other captivities and transportations of the people. Afterwards, when the Emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an (4) edict forbidding them upon pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem, or even to approach the country round about it. Tertullian and Jerome say, (5) that they were prohibited from entering into Judea. From that time to this their country hath been in the possession

potuerint, translata in Ægyptum; et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata. Hieron. in Zachariam Cap. 11. p. 1774. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(4) Justin. Martyr. Apol. 1. m. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6.

(5) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 2. p. 19. Edit. Rigaltii. Par. 167. Hieron.

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Hieron. in Isai
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 (6) See Benj

possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a low servile condition. Benjamin of Tudela in Spain, a celebrated Jew of the twelfth century, traveled into all parts to visit those of his own nation, and to learn an exact state of their affairs: and he (6) hath reported, that Jerusalem was almost entirely abandoned by the Jews. He found there not above two hundred persons, who were for the most part dyers of wool, and who every year purchased the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very little figure. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the holy land was still more depopulate. He found two of them in one city, twenty in another, most whereof were dyers. In other places there were more persons; but in upper Galilee, where the nation was in greatest repute after the ruin of Jerusalem, he found hardly any Jews at all. A very accurate and faithful (7) traveler of our own nation, who was himself also in the holy land, saith that

Jeron. in Isaiam. Cap. 6. p. Bafnage's Hist. of the Jews. B.
 in Dan. Cap. 9. p. 1117. 7. Chap. 7.
 3. Edit. Benedikt. (7) Sandys Travels. Book 3.
 (6) See Benjamin. Itin. and p. 114. 7th Edit.

(8) Bafnage's

that " it is for the most part now inhabited by
 " Moors and Arabians; those possessing the
 " valleys, and these the mountains. Turks
 " there be few: but many Greeks with other
 " Christians of all sects and nations, such as
 " impute to the place an adherent holiness.
 " Here be also some Jews, yet inherit they no
 " part of the land, but in their own country
 " do live as aliens."

9. But they were not only to be plucked out
 from their own land, but also to be dispersed
 into all nations, ver. 25, *And thou shalt be re-*
moved into all the kingdoms of the earth; and again
 ver. 64, *And the Lord shall scatter thee among*
all people, from one end of the earth even unto the
other. Nehemiah (I. 8, 9.) confesseth that these
 words were fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity,
 but they have more amply been fulfilled since
 the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans.
 What people indeed have been scattered so far
 and wide as they? and where is the nation
 which is a stranger to them, or to which they
 are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the
 East, are spread thro' most of the countries of
 Europe and Afric, and there are several families
 of them in the West Indies. They circulate
 through all parts, where trade and money are
 to be found; and are, as I may say, the brokers
 of the whole world.

10. But tho' they should be so dispersed, yet they should not be totally destroyed, but still subsist as a distinct people, as Moses had before foretold, Levit. XXVI. 44, *And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them.* The Jewish nation, (8) like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning, but is never consumed. And what a marvelous thing is it, that after so many wars, battles, and sieges, after so many fires, famins, and pestilences, after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions, after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, they are not *destroyed utterly*, and tho' scattered among all people, yet subsist as a distinct people by themselves? Where is any thing comparable to this to be found in all the histories, and in all the nations under the sun?

11. However, they should suffer much in their dispersion, and should not rest long in any place, ver. 65, *And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.* They have been so far from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, from

(8) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 1.

(9) See

from country to country. In many places they have been banished, and recalled, and banished again. We will only just mention their great banishments in modern times, and from countries very well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century they (9) were banished from England by Edward I, and were not permitted to return and settle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century they (1) were banished from France (for the seventh time, says Mezeray) by Charles VI; and ever since they have been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty, except at Metz where they have a synagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century (2) they were banished from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and according to Mariana, there were a hundred and seventy thousand families, or as some say eight hundred thousand persons who left the kingdom: Most of them paid dearly to John II for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years were expelled from thence also by his successor Emanuel. And in our own time, within these

(9) See Kennet, Echard, and Bafnage's Hist. of the Jews. B. 7. Chap. 19.

(1) On enjoignit aux Juifs pour la septiesme-fois &c. See Mezeray Abregé Chronol. Bafnage.

Bafnage. B. (2) See Mezeray, B. 26 Vol. I.

few years, they were banished from Prague by the queen of Bohemia.

12. They should be *oppressed and spoiled evermore*; and their *houses* and *vineyards*, their *oxen* and *asses* should be taken from them, and they should be *only oppressed and crushed alway*, ver. 29 &c. And what frequent seizures have been made of their effects in almost all countries? how often have they been fined and fleeced by almost all governments? how often have they been forced to redeem their lives with what is almost as dear as their lives, their treasure? Instances are innumerable. We will only cite an (3) historian of our own, who says that Henry III “always polled the Jews at every low ebb of his fortunes. One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred marks for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested, that the king had taken from him at times thirty thousand marks of silver, besides two hundred marks of gold, which he had presented to the queen. And in like manner he used many others of the Jews.” And when they were

Basnage, B. 7. C. 18.

and Basnage, B. 7. C. 21.

(2) See Mariana's Hist. of Spain, B. 26. Chap. 1. et. 6.

(3) Daniel in Kennet. Vol. 1. p. 179.

Vol. I.

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(4) See

were banished in the reign of Edward I, their estates were confiscated, and immense sums thereby accrued to the crown.

13. *Their sons and their daughters should be given unto another people*, ver. 32. And in several countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government to be educated in the popish religion. The (4) fourth council of Toledo ordered, that all their children should be taken from them for fear they should partake of their errors, and that they should be shut up in monasteries, to be instructed in the christian truths. And when they were banished from Portugal, "the king," says (5) Mariana, ordered all their children, "under 14 years of age, to be taken from them, and baptized: a practice not at all justifiable," adds the historian, "because none ought to be forced to become Christians, nor children to be taken from their parents."

14. *They should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see*, ver. 34. And into what madness, fury, and desperation have they

(4) See Basnage, B. 7. C. Sect. 14.

(5) Mariana B. 26. C. 1.

(6) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. C. 8 et 9. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Basnage

(7) Basnage
sect. 20. wh

they been pushed by the cruel usage, extor-
 tions, and oppressions which they have under-
 gone? We will allege only two similar instances,
 one from ancient, and one from modern history.
 After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (6),
 some of the worst of the Jews took refuge in
 the castle of Masada, where being closely be-
 sieged by the Romans, they at the persuasion
 of Eleazar their leader, first murdered their
 wives and children; then ten men were chosen
 by lot to slay the rest; this being done, one of
 the ten was chosen in like manner to kill the
 other nine, which having executed he set fire
 to the place, and then stabbed himself. There
 were nine hundred and sixty who perished in
 this miserable manner; and only two women,
 and five boys escaped by hiding themselves
 in the aqueducts under ground. Such ano-
 ther instance we have in our English history.
 For (7) in the reign of Richard the first,
 when the people were in arms to make a ge-
 neral massacre of them, fifteen hundred of
 them seized on the city of York to defend
 themselves; but being besieged they offered
 to

(7) Basnage. B. 7. Chap. 19. p. 111. et Polyd. Virgil. l. 14.
 sect. 20. who cites Matt. Paris. p. 248.

to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cryed in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. Every one immediately took his knife, and stabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the king's palace, which they set on fire, in which they consumed themselves with the palace and furniture.

15. *They should serve other gods, wood and stone, ver. 36 ; and again ver. 64, they should serve other gods, which neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone.* And is it not too common for the Jews in popish countries to comply with the idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, and to bow down to stocks and stones rather than their effects should be seized and confiscated? Here again we must cite the author, who hath most studied, and hath best written their modern history, and whom we have had occasion to quote several time in this discourse. "The Spanish and Portugal Inquisitions, (8) saith he, reduce them to the dilemma of being either hypo-

" crite

(8) Basnage. Book 7. Chap. 33. Sect. 14.

(9)

(9) B. 7. (1) Limbor

"crites or burnt, The number of these dis-
 "semblers is very considerable; and it ought
 "not to be concluded, that there are no Jews
 "in Spain or Portugal, because they are not
 "known: They are so much the more dange-
 "rous, for not only being very numerous, but
 "confounded with the ecclesiastics, and en-
 "tring into all ecclesiastical dignities." In
 another (9) place he saith, "The most
 "surprising thing is, that this religion spreads
 "from generation to generation, and still sub-
 "sists in the persons of dissemblers in a remote
 "posterity. In vain the great lords of Spain
 "(1) *make alliances, change their names, and*
 "*take ancient scutcheons; they are still known*
 "*to be of Jewish race, and Jews themselves. The*
 "*convents of monks and nuns are full of them.*
 "*Most of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops pro-*
 "*ceed from this nation.* This is enough to make
 "the people and clergy of this country trem-
 "ble, since such sort of churchmen can only
 "profane the sacraments, and want intention
 "in consecrating the host they adore. In the
 "mean time Orobio, who relates the fact,
 "knew these dissemblers. He was one of
 "them

(9) B. 7. Chap. 21. Sect. 26.

(1) Limborch Collat. cum Jud. p. 102.

“ them himself, and bent the knee before the
 “ sacrament. Moreover he brings proofs of his
 “ assertion, in maintaining, that there are in the
 “ synagogue of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters
 “ and near relations to good families of Spain
 “ and Portugal; and even Franciscan monks,
 “ Dominicans, and Jesuits, who come to do
 “ penance, and make amends for the crime
 “ they have committed in dissembling.”

16. *They should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations,* ver. 37. And do we not hear and see this prophecy fulfilled almost every day? is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their persons generally odious among all sorts of people? Mohammedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews. In most places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves, (as they did here in the Old Jewry) and to wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguish them from the rest of mankind. They are in all respects treated, as if they were of another species. And when a great master of nature would draw the portrait of a Jew, how detestable a character

hath he represented in the person of his *Jew of Venice*!

17. Finally *their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance*, ver. 59. And have not their plagues continued now these 1700 years? Their former captivities were very short in comparison: and (2) Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in the land of the Chaldæans: but now they have no true prophet to foretell an end of their calamities, they have only false Messiahs to delude them and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities they had the comfort of being conveyed to the same place; they dwelt together in the land of Goshen, they were carried together to Babylon: but now they are dispersed all over the face of the earth. What nation hath suffered so much, and yet indured so long? what nation hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country, so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries? and what a standing miracle is this exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world?

Here are instances of prophecies, of prophecies delivered above three thousand years ago, and yet as we see fulfilling in the world at this very

(2) See Basnage B. 6. Chap. 1. Sect. 2.

(1) See

very time : and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses ? How these instances may affect others, I know not ; but for myself I must acknowledge, they not only convince, but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, *a sign and a wonder for ever*, ver. 45, 46. *Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed ; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his statutes which he commanded thee : And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.*



VIII.

*Prophecies of other prophets concerning
the JEWS.*

BESIDES the prophecies of Moses, there are others of other prophets, relative to the present state and condition of the Jews. Such are those particularly concerning the restoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from captivity, and the dissolution of the ten tribes of Israel; and those concerning the preservation of the Jews, and the destruction of their enemies; and those concerning the desolation of Judea; and those concerning the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews; and those concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. And it may be proper to say something upon each of these topics.

I. It was foretold, that the ten tribes of Israel should be carried captive by the kings of Assyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin should be carried captive by the king of Babylon: but with this difference, that the two tribes should be restored and return from

from their captivity, but the ten tribes should be dissolved and lost in theirs. Nay not only the captivity and restoration of the two tribes were foretold, but the precise time of their captivity and restoration was also prefixed and determined by the prophet Jeremiah: (XXV. 11.) *This whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years:* and again (XXIX. 10.) *Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place.* This prophecy was first delivered (Jer. XXV. 1.) in the fourth year of Jeboiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. And this (1) same year it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, besieged and took Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his subject and tributary, transported the finest children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon to be bred up there for eunuchs and slaves in his palace, and also carried away the vessels of the house of the Lord, and put them in the temple of his

god

(1) See Usher, Prideaux, and XXIV. 2 Chron. XXXVI. and the Commentators on 2 Kings Dan. I.

(2) Pri

(2) Prideaux, B. 3. A.

god at Babylon. Seventy years from this time will bring us down to the first year of Cyrus, (2 Chron. XXXVI. 22. Ezra I. 1.) when he made his proclamation for the restoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. This computation of the seventy years captivity appears to be the truest, and most agreeable to scripture. But if you fix the commencement of these seventy years at the time when Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, their (2) conclusion will fall about the time when Darius issued his decree for rebuilding the temple, after the work had been stopt and suspended. Or if you fix their commencement at the time when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the people, and completed the desolation of the land, their (3) conclusion will fall about the time when the temple was finished and dedicated, and the first passover was solemnized in it. "So that," as Dean Prideaux says, "taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter." It may be said to have been accomplished at three

(2) Prideaux Connect. Part (3) Prideaux ibid. Anno 515.
 B. 3. Anno 518. Darius 4. Darius 7.

(4) Comment.

three different times, and in three different manners, and therefore possibly all might have been intended, tho' the first without doubt was the principal subject of the prophecy.

But the case was different with the ten tribes of Israel. It is very well known that Ephraim being the chief of the ten tribes is often put for all the ten tribes of Israel; and it was predicted by Isaiah (VII. 8.) *Within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people.* This prophecy was delivered in the first year of Ahaz king of Judah; for in the latter end of his father Jotham's reign, (2 Kings XV. 37.) Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel began their expedition against Judah. They went up towards Jerusalem to war against it in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz; and it was to comfort him and the house of David in these difficulties and distresses, that the prophet Isaiah was commissioned to assure him, that the kings of Syria and Israel should remain only the heads of their respective cities, they should not prevail against Jerusalem, and within sixty and five years Israel should be so broken as to be no more a people. The learned (4) Vitringa is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that in-

stead

(4) Comment. in locum.

(5) See

stead of *sixty* שש"ו and five it was originally written *sixteen* שש and five. *Sixteen and five*, as he confesseth, is an odd way of computation for *one and twenty*; but it designs perfectly the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah. For Ahaz reigned *sixteen* years, and Hezekiah *five* years alone, having reigned one year jointly with his father: and it was *in the sixth year of Hezekiah*, (2 Kings XVIII. 10, 11.) that *Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried away Israel unto Assyria*. Then indeed the kingdom of Israel was broken: and the conjecture of Vitringa would appear much more probable, if it could be proved that it had ever been usual to write the numbers or dates of years partly in words at length, and partly in numeral letters. But without recourse to such an expedient the thing may be explicated otherwise. For from the first of Ahaz (5) compute *sixty and five* years in the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, the end of them will fall about the 22d year of Manasseh, when Esarhaddon king of Assyria made the last deportation of the Israelites, and planted other nations in their stead; and in the same expedition probably took Manasseh captive, (2 Chron. XXXIII. 11.) and carried him to Babylon. It is said expressly that it was Esarhaddon who planted

(5) See Usher, Prideaux &c.

(6) For

planted the other nations in the cities of Samaria: but it is not said expressly in scripture, that he carried away the remainder of the people, but it may be inferred from several circumstances of the story. There were other deportations of the Israelites made by the kings of Assyria before this time. In the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pilezer took many of the Israelites, *even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan.* (1 Chron. V. 26. 2 Kings XV. 29.) His son Shalmaneser, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away still greater numbers *unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan* (the same places whither their brethren had been carried before them) *and in the cities of the Medes.* (2 Kings XVIII. 11.) His son Sennacherib came up also against Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was forced to return with shame and disgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his sons. (2 Kings XVIII. 19.) Another of his sons, Esarhaddon succeeded him in the throne, but it was some time before he could

recover

recover his kingdom from these disorders, and think of reducing Syria and Palestine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and to prevent the land from becoming desolate, brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthab, and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel. (Ezra IV. 2. 10. 2 Kings XVII. 24.) Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but now he was broken from being a people. And from that time to this what account can be given of the people of Israel as distinct from the people of Judah? where have they subsisted all this while? and where is their situation, or what is their condition at present?

We see plainly that they were placed in Assyria and Media; and if they subsisted any where, one would imagin they might be found there in the greatest abundance. But authors have generally sought for them elsewhere: and the visionary writer of the second book of Esdras (XIII. 40 &c.) hath asserted that they took a resolution of retiring from the Gentiles, and of going into a country, which had never been inhabited; that the river Euphrates was miraculously

miraculously divided for their passage, and they proceeded in their journey a year and a half, before they arrived at this country, which was called Arfareth. But the worst of it is, as this country was unknown before, so it hath been equally unknown ever since. It is to be found no where but in this apocryphal book, which is so wild and fabulous in other respects, that it deserves no credit in this particular. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of the twelfth century, (6) hath likewise assigned them a large and spacious country with fine cities; but no body knoweth to this day where it is situated. Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, hath placed them in Ethiopia and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty five kingdoms tributary to them. Another Jewish writer, Peritful of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the last, hath given them kingdoms in a country called Perricha, inclosed by unknown mountains, and bounded by Assyria and likewise in the deserts of Arabia, and even in the East Indies. Manasseh, a famous rabbi of the last century, and others have asserted

(6) For these particulars the reader may consult Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 2 and 3.

(7) See Calmet's two Dissertations, 1st. Sur le pays où les dix tribus d'Israel furent transportées, et sur celui où elles

that they passed into Tartary, and expelled the Scythians; and others again from Tartary have conveyed them into America. But all these differing accounts prove nothing but the great uncertainty that there is in this matter. The best of them are only conjectures without any solid foundation, but most of them are manifest forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the ten tribes hath induced (7) others to maintain, that they returned into their own country with the other two tribes after the Babylonish captivity. The decree indeed of Cyrus extended to *all the people of God*, (Ezra I. 3.) and that of Artaxerxes to *all the people of Israel*; (VII. 13.) and no doubt many of the Israelites took advantage of these decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but still the main body of the ten tribes remained behind. Ezra, who should best know, saith that there *rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin*, (I. 5.) and he calleth the Samaritans *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin*; (IV.

ont aujourd'hui. Comment. de leur captivité, dans la terre
Vol. 3. 2d. Ou l'on examine d'Israel. Comment. Vol. 6.
les dix tribus sont revenuees

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(8) 70

(IV. 1.) these two tribes were the principals, the others were only as accessories. And if they did not return at this time, they cannot be supposed to have returned in a body at any time after this: for we read of no such adventure in history, we know neither the time nor occasion of their return, nor who were their generals or leaders in this expedition. Josephus, who saw his country for several years in as flourishing a condition as at any time since the captivity, affirms that (8) Ezra sent a copy of the decree of Artaxerxes to all of the same nation throughout Media, where the ten tribes lived in captivity, and many of them came with their effects to Babylon, desiring to return to Jerusalem: but the main body of the Israelites abode in that region: and therefore it hath happened, saith he, that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe, living in subjection to the Romans, but the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates to this time; and then addeth with the vanity of

(8) το δ' αντιγραφον αυτης
 παρα παντας επιειλε της ὁμοι-
 ους της κατα την Μηδιαν οντας.
 — πολλοι δ' αυτων, και τας
 κτησεις αναλαβοντες, ηλθον εις Βα-
 βυλωνα, ποθεντες την εις τα
 Ιεροσολυμα καθοδον. ο δε πας
 λαος των Ισραηλιτων κατα χωραν
 εμενε. διο και δυο φυλας ειναι συμ-

βεβηκεν επι τε της Ασιας και τε
 Ευρωπης, Ρωμαιοις ὑπακουσας.
 δε δεκα φυλαι περιαν εστιν Ευφρα-
 τη εως διουρο, μυριαδες απημε-
 ναμεναι. exemplar vero ejus
 Mediam ad omnes gentis su-
 homines misit.—multi vero
 iis cum re sua familiari Babylonia

lonem se
 Hierosoly-
 rio tenebar
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 Europam f-
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 tribus usque

a Jew speaking of his countrymen, that they were so many myriads, that they could not be numbered.

Others, finding no good authority for admitting that the ten tribes of Israel were restored in the same manner as the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (9) have therefore asserted, that “ the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages, and idolatry of the nations, among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land) after a while became wholly absorbed, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial,

Ionem se contulerunt, ut qui Hierosolyma revertendi desiderio tenebantur. Omnis autem multitudo Israelitarum in ea regione mansit. Quapropter duæ tantum tribus per Asiam atque Europam sub Romano degunt imperio. Decem autem reliquæ tribus usque in hodiernum diem

loca ultra Euphratem colunt, infinita hominum millia, nec numero comprehendenda. Antiqu. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 482. Edit. Hudson.

(9) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 1. Anno 677. Manasseh 22.

“ rial, were never after any more spoken of.” But if the whole race of Israel became thus extinct, and perished for ever, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promise the future conversion and restoration of Israel as well as of Judah?

The truth I conceive to lie between these two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jerusalem, neither did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Isaiah was still fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the state of Israel was utterly broken; they no longer subsisted as a distinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a separate religion, they joined themselves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they lost the name of Israel as a name of distinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews. It appears from the book of Esther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refused to return to Jerusalem with their brethren;

they must many of them have been the descendants of the ten tribes whom the kings of Assyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all spoken of as one and the same people, and all without distinction are denominated Jews. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, (II. 9.) that there came to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost *Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia*: these men came from the countries, wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and in all probability therefore were some of their posterity; but yet these as well as the rest are styled (ver. 5.) *Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven*. Those likewise of the ten tribes, who returned to Jerusalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews; they might for some ages perhaps preserve their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the distinction of tribes and families is in great measure lost among them, and they have all from the Babylonish captivity to this day been comprehended under the general name of Jews. In St. Paul's time there were several persons of all the ten tribes in being; for he speaketh of *the twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promise of God*; (Acts XXVI. 7.) and

St. James addreſſeth his epiſtle *to the twelve tribes which are ſcattered abroad.* (James I. 1.)

And we make no queſtion, that ſeveral perſons of all the ten tribes are in being at preſent, tho' we cannot ſeparate them from the reſt; they are confounded with the other Jews; there is no difference, no diſtinction between them. The (1) Samaritans indeed (of whom there are ſtill ſome remains at Sichem and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the deſcendents of the children of Iſrael, but they are really derived from thoſe nations, which Eſarhaddon king of Aſſyria planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reaſon the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites (the name of one of thoſe nations) and exclaim againſt them as the worſt of heretics, and if poſſible have greater hatred and abhorrence of them than of the Chriſtians themſelves.

Thus we ſee how the ten tribes of Iſrael were in a manner loſt in their captivity, while the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were reſtored and preſerved ſeveral ages afterwards. And what, can you believe, were the reaſons

(1) See Prideaux as before.

(2) See

(2) See
Sect. 2.

of God's making this difference and distinction between them? The ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worship of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their other idolatry and wickedness, they were suffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were restored, not so much for their own sakes, as for the sake of the promises made unto the fathers, the promise to Judah that the Messiah should come of his tribe, the promise to David that the Messiah should be born of his family. It was therefore necessary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept distinct until the coming of the Messiah. But now these ends are fully answered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the rest: all distinction of families and genealogies is lost among them: and the (2) Jews themselves acknowledge as much in saying, that when the Messiah shall come, it will be part of his office "to sort their families, restore the genealogies, and set aside strangers."

II. The preservation of the Jews thro' so many ages, and the total destruction of their enemies

(2) See Bishop Chandler's *Defense of Christianity*. Chap. 1. Sect. 2. p. 38. 3d Edit.

enemies are wonderful events; and are made stil more wonderful by being signified beforehand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, (XLVI. 28.) *Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee.*

The preservation of the Jews is really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine providence. They are dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost in that immense body of waters: and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep separate from all. They still live as a distinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates, no where enjoy the full exercise of their religion. Their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now for many ages in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will

will not suffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England who can pretend to say with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honorable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of
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of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should one would think have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it, they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

Nor is the providence of God less remarkable in the destruction of their enemies, than in their preservation. For from the beginning who have been the great enemies and oppressors of the Jewish nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and slavery? The Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage several years. The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them

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and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. And where are now these great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God? Are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names lost in the earth? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians were overthrown, and entirely subjugated by the Persians: and the Persians (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the incursions of the northern nations; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people at this day. And what a wonder of providence is it, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more?

Nay not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons, who have been their persecutors and oppressors. The first born of Pharaoh was destroyed, and he himself

himself with his host was drowned in the sea. Most of those who oppressed Israel in the days of the Judges, Eglon, Jabin and Sisera, Oreb and Zeeb, and the rest, came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes (3) died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin issuing from them, so that the filthiness of his smell was intolerable to all his attendants, and even to himself. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, (4) died in the same miserable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, (5) was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews for refusing to pay divine honors to his statues, (6) was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign. But where are now, since they have absolutely rejected the gospel, and been no longer the peculiar people of God, where are now such visible manifestations of a divine interposition in their favor?

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(3) 2 Maccab. IX. 9. Polybii Fragm. p. 997. Edit. Casaubon.

(4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 17. Cap. 6. Sect. 5. p. 768. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 33. Sect. 5.

p. 1040. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Philo in Flaccum.

(6) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. Suetonii Calig. Cap. 59. Vixit annis

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(7) Just. Ma

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The Jews would do well to consider this point; for rightly considered, it may be an effectual means of opening their eyes, and of turning them to Christ our Saviour.

III. The desolation of Judea is another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy. It was foretold so long ago as by Moses, (Levit. XXVI. 33.) *I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste.* It was foretold again by Isaiah, the prophet speaking, as prophets often do, of things future as present; (I. 7, 8, 9.) *Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.* This passage may relate immediately to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it must have a farther reference to the devastations made by the Chaldæans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by (7)

Justin

annis XXX. imperavit triennio
X mensibus, diebusque VIII.
(7) Just. Mart. Apol. 1ma.
70. Edit. Thirlbii. Dial. cum
cyphone. p. 169, et 243. Ter-

tull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 8.
Cap. 23. p. 411. Edit. Rigaltii
Par. 1675. et alibi Hieron. in
locum. Vol. 3. p. 12. Edit. Be-
nedict.

(8) Vol-

Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jerome, and most ancient interpreters: and the following words imply no less than a general destruction, and almost total excision of the people, such as they suffered under the Chaldæans, but more fully under the Romans; *Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.* The same thing was again foretold by Jeremiah; for speaking afterwards of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews in the latter days, he must be understood to speak here of the times preceding, (XII. 10, 11.) *Many pastors (princes or leaders) have destroyed my vineyard, they have troden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness; they have made it desolate, and being desolate it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart.*

The same thing is expressed or implied in other places: and hath not the state of Judea now for many ages been exactly answerable to this description? That a country should be depopulated and desolated by the incursions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful; but that it should lie so many ages in this miserable condition is more than man

could foresee, and could be revealed only by God. A celebrated French writer (8) in his history of the Crusades pretends to exhibit a true picture of Palestine, and he says that then
 " it was just what it is at present, the worst of
 " all the inhabited countries of Asia. It is al-
 " most wholly covered with parched rocks, on
 " which there is not one line of soil. If this
 " small territory were cultivated, it might not
 " improperly be compared to Switzerland."

But there is no need of citing authorities to prove that the land is forsaken of its inhabitants, is uncultivated, unfruitful, and desolate; for the enemies of our religion make this very thing an objection to the truth of our religion. They say that so barren and wretched a country could never have been *a land flowing with milk and honey*, nor have supplied and maintained such multitudes, as it is represented to have done in scripture. But they do not see or consider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled; so that it is rather an evidence for the truth of our religion, than any argument against it.

The country was formerly a good country, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of those who should best know it, the people who inhabited

(8) Voltaire's Hist. not far from the beginning.

(9) Ari-

inhabited it. Aristeas and Josephus too (9) speak largely in commendation of its fruitfulness: and tho' something may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to assert a thing, which all the world could easily contradict and disprove. Nay there are even heathen authors who bear testimony to the fruitfulness of the land: tho' we presume, that after the Babylonish captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo (1) describes indeed the country about Jerusalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecataeus (2) quoted by Josephus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertile countries. Tacitus (3) saith that it raineth seldom, the soil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and besides them the balsam and palm trees. And notwithstanding the long desolation of the land, there are still visible such marks and tokens of fruitfulness, as may convince any man that it once deserved the character, which is given of it in scripture.

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(9) Aristeas p. 13, 14. Edit. Hody. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. p. 1120. Edit. Hudson.

(1) Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 761.

Edit. Par. p. 1104. Edit. Amstel. p. 755. Edit. Par. p. 109. Edit. Amstel. p. 763. Edit. Par. p. 1106. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(2) Joseph. contra Apion.

would only refer the reader to two learned and ingenious travellers of our own nation, Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw; and he will fully be satisfied of the truth of what is here asserted.

The (4) former says, that "all along this day's travel (Mar. 25.) from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see round, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it, in the word of God: insomuch that it almost startles their faith when they reflect how it could be possible for a land like this, to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in

Lib. 1. Sect. 22. — *ῥῆς ἀπὸ τῆς* rant fruges nostrum ad morem,
καὶ ἀμφοτέρων χυρὰς — opti præterque eas, balsamum et
mi et feracissimi soli. — p. palmæ.

1348. Edit. Hudson. (4) Maundrell, p. 64 &c.

(3) Taciti Hist. Lib. 5. rari 5th Edit.

ambres, uber solum, Exube-
Vol. I.

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(5) Shaw's

" in by Joab 2 Sam. XXIV, amounting to no
 " less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting
 " men, besides women and children. But it
 " is certain that any man, who is not a little
 " biaſſed to infidelity before, may ſee, as he
 " paſſes along, arguments enough to ſupport
 " his faith againſt ſuch ſcruples. For it is ob-
 " vious for any one to obſerve, that theſe rocks
 " and hills muſt have been anciently covered
 " with earth, and cultivated, and made to con-
 " tribute to the maintenance of the inhabi-
 " tants, no leſs than if the country had been all
 " plain : nay perhaps much more ; forasmuch
 " as ſuch a mountainous and uneven ſurface af-
 " fords a larger ſpace of ground for cultivation,
 " than this country would amount to, if it were
 " all reduced to a perfect level. For the huf-
 " banding of theſe mountains, their manner
 " was to gather up the ſtones, and place them
 " in ſeveral lines, along the ſides of the hills
 " in form of a wall. By ſuch borders they
 " ſupported the mold from tumbling or being
 " waſhed down ; and formed many beds of
 " excellent ſoil, riſing gradually one above
 " another, from the bottom to the top of the
 " mountains. Of this form of culture you ſee
 " evident footſteps, wherever you go in all the
 " mountains of Paleſtine. Thus the very rocks

" were made fruitful. And perhaps there is
 " no spot of ground in this whole land, that
 " was not formerly improved, to the produc-
 " tion of something or other, ministring to the
 " sustenance of human life. For than the
 " plain countries nothing can be more fruitful,
 " whether for the production of corn or cattle,
 " and consequently of milk. The hills, though
 " improper for all cattle except goats, yet being
 " disposed into such beds as are before de-
 " scribed, served very well to bear corn, melons,
 " gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden
 " stuff, which makes the principal food of
 " these countries for several months in the year.
 " The most rocky parts of all, which could
 " not well be adjusted in that manner for the
 " production of corn, might yet serve for the
 " plantation of vines and olive trees; which
 " delight to extract, the one its fatness, the
 " other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such
 " dry and flinty places. And the great plain,
 " joining to the dead sea, which by reason of
 " its saltness might be thought unserviceable,
 " both for cattle, corn, olives and vines, had
 " yet its proper usefulness for the nourishment
 " of bees, and for the fabric of honey; of
 " which Josephus gives us his testimony, De
 " Bell. Jud. Lib. 5, Cap. 4. And I have reason

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“ to believe it, because when I was there, I
 “ perceived in many places a smell of honey
 “ and wax, as strong as if one had been in an
 “ apiary. Why then might not this country
 “ very well maintain the vast number of its
 “ inhabitants, being in every part so produc-
 “ tive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey,
 “ which are the principal food of these eastern
 “ nations? the constitution of their bodies, and
 “ the nature of their clime, inclining them to
 “ a more abstemious diet than we use in Eng-
 “ land, and other colder regions.”

The (5) other asserts, that “ the Holy Land,
 “ were it as well peopled and cultivated, as in
 “ former time, would still be more fruitful
 “ than the very best part of the coast of Syria
 “ and Phœnice. For the soil itself is generally
 “ much richer, and all things considered, yields
 “ a more preferable crop. Thus the cotton
 “ that is gathered in the plains of Ramah,
 “ Esdraelon and Zabulon, is in greater esteem,
 “ than what is cultivated near Sidon and Tri-
 “ poly; neither is it possible for pulse, wheat
 “ or any sort of grain, to be more excellent
 “ than what is commonly sold at Jerusalem.
 “ The barrenness or scarcity rather, which

(5) Shaw's Travels, p. 365, &c.

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" some authors may either ignorantly or mali-
 " ciouſly complain of, does not proceed from
 " the incapacity or natural unfruitfulneſs of the
 " country, but from the want of inhabitants,
 " and the great averſion there is to labor and
 " induſtry in thoſe few who poſſeſs it. There
 " are beſides ſuch perpetual diſcords and de-
 " predations among the petty princes, who
 " ſhare this fine country, that allowing it was
 " better peopled, yet there would be ſmall en-
 " couragement to ſow, when it was uncertain,
 " who ſhould gather in the harveſt. Other-
 " wiſe the *land is a good land*, and ſtill capable
 " of affording its neighbours the like ſupplies
 " of corn and oil, which it is known to have
 " done in the time of Solomon. The parts
 " particularly about Jeruſalem, being deſcribed
 " to be rocky and mountainous, have been
 " therefore ſuppoſed to be barren and unfruit-
 " ful. Yet granting this concluſion, which is
 " far from being juſt, a kingdom is not to be
 " denominated barren or unfruitful from one
 " part of it only, but from the whole. Nay
 " farther, the bleſſing that was given to Judah,
 " was not of the ſame kind with the bleſſing of
 " Aſher or of Iſſaſhar, that *his bread ſhould be*
 " *fat*, or *his land ſhould be pleaſant*, but that
 " *his eyes ſhould be red with wine, and his teeth*

“ *should be white with milk*, Gen. XLIX. 12.
 “ Moses also maketh milk and honey (the chief
 “ dainties and subsistence of the earlier ages,
 “ as they continue to be of the Bedoween
 “ Arabs) to be (6) *the glory of all lands*: all
 “ which productions are either actually enjoyed,
 “ or at least might be, by proper care and
 “ application. The plenty of wine alone is
 “ wanting at present; yet from the goodness
 “ of that little, which is still made at Jerusa-
 “ lem and Hebron, we find that these barren
 “ rocks (as they are called) might yield a much
 “ greater quantity, if the abstemious Turk and
 “ Arab would permit a further increase and im-
 “ provement to be made of the vine, &c.”

IV. Nothing can be a stronger or clearer
 proof of the divine inspiration of the prophets
 than their foretelling not only the outward ac-
 tions, but even the inward dispositions of men
 many ages before those men were in being.
 The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favor
 of their own nation; but yet they foretel the
 infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, the
 disbelief of the Messiah, and thereupon their
 rejection by God. We will not multiply quod

tation

(6) As Bishop Pearce observes, Moses but of Ezekiel, (XX.
 Is not this a mistake in Dr. 15.) and he does not seem to
 Shaw? The words are not of the *milk and honey* the glory

tations to this purpose. It will be sufficient to produce one or two passages from the evangelical prophet Isaiah. The 53d chapter is a most famous prophecy of the Messiah; and it begins with upbraiding the Jews for their unbelief, *Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?* which St. John (XII. 38.) and St. Paul (Rom. X. 16.) have expressly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet assigns the reason too, why they would not receive the Messiah, namely because of his low and afflicted condition: and it is very well known that they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer in great power and glory.

The prophet had before been commissioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and disobedience, (VI. 9 &c.) *And he said, Go ye and tell this people, (this people, not my people) Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and under-*
stand

all lands; but the land, which he rather calls the glory of all
land abound with milk and honey, lands.

stand with their heart, and convert, and be healed; In the stile of scripture the prophets are said to do what they declare *will be done*: and in like manner Jeremiah is said (I. 10.) to be *set over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant*; because he was authorised to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. *Make the heart of this people fat*, is therefore as much as to say, *Denounce my judgments upon this people, that their heart shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* This prophecy might relate in some measure to the state of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour: and in this sense it is understood and applied by the writers of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself. The prophet is then informed, that this infidelity and obstinacy of his countrymen should be of long duration. *Then said I, Lord, how long?* *And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, And the Lord have*

removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land. Here is a remarkable gradation in the denouncing of these judgments. Not only Jerusalem and the cities should be wasted without inhabitants, but even the single houses should be without man; and not only the houses of the cities should be without man, but even the country should be utterly desolate; and not only the people should be removed out of the land, but the Lord should remove them far away; and they should not be removed for a short period, but there should be a great or rather a long forsaking in the midst of the land. And hath not the world seen all these particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews labored under a spiritual blindness and infatuation in bearing but not understanding, in seeing but not perceiving the Messiah, after the accomplishment of so many prophecies, after the performance of so many miracles? And in consequence of their refusing to convert and be healed, have not their cities been wasted without inhabitant, and their houses without man? Hath not their land been utterly desolate? Have they not been removed far away into the most distant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or banishment been now of near 1700 years duration? And do they not still continue deaf and

and blind, obstinate and unbelieving? The Jews, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, gloried in being the peculiar church and people of God: and would any Jew of himself have thought or have said, that his nation would in process of time become an infidel and reprobate nation, infidel and reprobate for many ages, oppressed by men, and forsaken by God? It was above 750 years before Christ, that Isaiah predicted these things; and how could he have predicted them, unless he had been illuminated by the divine vision; or how could they have succeeded accordingly, unless the spirit of prophecy had been the spirit of God?

V. Of the same nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could such an event be foreseen hundreds of years before it happened? but the prophets are full of the glorious subject, and speak with delight and rapture of the universal kingdom of the Messiah; that God would give *unto him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession* (Psal II. 8.) that *all the ends of the world should remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him* (Psal. XXII. 27.) that *in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established*

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in the top of the mountains, and should be exalted above the hills, and all people should flow unto it; (Micah IV. 1.) which passage is also to be found in Isaiah; (II. 2.) that from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts. (Mal. I. 11.) But the prophet Isaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical subjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant access of the Gentiles. It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth. (XLIX. 6.) Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee, &c. (LX. 1, 3, 5 &c.)

It is as absurd as it is vain in the Jews to apply these prophecies to the proselytes whom they have gained among the nations; for the
number

number of their profelytes was very inconsiderable, and nothing to answer these pompous descriptions. Neither was their religion ever designed by its founder for an universal religion, their worship and sacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; so that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was indeed to be a religion, which was designed for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what prospect or probability was there, that such a generous institution should proceed from such a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles who hated and despised them should ever receive a religion from them? Was it not much more likely, that they should be corrupted by the example of all the nations around them, and be induced to comply with the polytheism and idolatry of some of their powerful neighbours and conquerors, to which they were but too much inclined of themselves? Was not this, I say, much more likely than that they should be the happy instruments of reforming the world, and converting some of all nations to the worship of the one only God in spirit and in truth?

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But the prophet farther intimates, that this great revolution, the greatest that ever was in the religious world, should be effected by a few incompetent persons, and effected too in a short compass of time. *A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time.* (LX. 22.) Our Saviour's commission to his apostles was *Go, teach all nations:* and who were the persons to whom this commission was given? those who were best qualified and able to carry it into execution? the rich, the wise, the mighty of this world? No, they were chiefly a few poor fishermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or address, of no repute or authority, despised as Jews by the rest of mankind, and as the meanest and worst of Jews by the Jews themselves. And what improper persons were these to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the superstitions of the people, the interests of the priests, the vanity of philosophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of the Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of Rome? As this revolution was effected by a few incompetent persons, so was it effected too in short compass of time. After our Saviour's *commission the number of the disciples together was*
about

about an hundred and twenty: (Acts I. 15.) but they soon increased and multiplied; the first sermon of St. Peter added unto them *about three thousand souls*, (II. 41.) and the second made up the number *about five thousand*. (IV. 4.) Before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the space of about forty years, the gospel was preached in almost every region of the world then known: And in the reign of Constantine Christianity became the religion of the empire; and after having suffered a little under Julian, it entirely prevailed and triumphed over paganism and idolatry; and still prevails in the most civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foresee, and much more than man could execute: and we experience the good effects of these prophecies at this day. The speedy propagation of the gospel could not have been effected by persons so unequal to the task, if the same divine Spirit who foretold it, had not likewise assisted them in it, according to the promise, *I the Lord will hasten it in his time*. We may be as certain as if we had seen it, that the truth really was, as the evangelist affirms, (Mark XVI. 20.) *They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following*.

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor those concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had *the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession*: (Psal. II. 8.) *All the ends of the world have not yet turned unto the Lord*: (XXII. 27.) *All people, nations, and languages, have not yet served him*: (Dan. VII. 14.) These things have hitherto been only partially, but they will even literally be fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made *an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations*. (Is. LX. 15.) The time is not yet come, when *violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within their borders*. (ver. 18.) God's promises to them are not yet made good in their full extent. *Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, when they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever*. (Ezek. XXXVII. 21, 25.) *Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more*

more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God. (XXXIX. 28, 29.) However what hath already been accomplished is a sufficient pledge and earnest of what is yet to come : and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of these prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled also ; that there will be yet a greater harvest of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be enlightened with the knowledge of the Lord ; that the Jews will in God's good time be converted to Christianity, and upon their conversion be restored to their native city and country ; and especially since the state of affairs is such, that they may return without much difficulty, having no dominion, no settled country, or fixed property to detain them much any where. We have seen the prophecy of Hosea (III. 4, 5) fulfilled in part, and why should we not believe that it will be fulfilled in the whole ? *The children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image or altar, and without an ephod or priest to wear an ephod, and without teraphim or divine manifestations. Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek*

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the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.

We have now exhibited a summary view of the prophecies of the Old Testament more immediately relative to the present state and condition of the Jews : and what stronger and more convincing arguments can you require of the truth both of the Jewish and of the Christian religion ? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God : and as St. Paul saith, (Rom. XI. 1.) *Hath God cast away his people ? God forbid.* We see that after so many ages they are still preserved by a miracle of providence a distinct people ; and why is such a continual miracle exerted, but for the greater illustration of the divine truth, and the better accomplishment of the divine promises, as well those which are yet to be, as those which are already fulfilled ? We see that the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin ; because tho' they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood ; all that they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a

Vol. I. R warning

warning to all those, who at any time or upon any occasion are for raising a clamor and persecution against them. They are blameable no doubt for persisting in their infidelity after so many means of conviction; but this is no warrant or authority for us to proscribe, to abuse, injure, and oppress them, as Christians of more zeal than either knowledge or charity have in all ages been apt to do. *Charity is greater than faith*: and it is worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving. Persecution is the spirit of popery, and in the worst of popish countries the Jews are the most cruelly used and persecuted: the spirit of protestantism is toleration and indulgence to weaker consciences. Compassion to this unhappy people is not to defeat the prophecies; for only wicked nations were to harass and oppress them, the good were to show mercy to them; and we should choose rather to be the dispenser's of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments. Read the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans and see what the great apostle of the Gentiles who certainly understood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do, saith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themselves upon their super-

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rior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who *were cut out of the olive-tree which is wild by nature, and were grafted contrary to nature into a good olive-tree*, should presume to *boast against the natural branches*: (ver. 24, 18.) but what would he have said, how would he have flamed and lightened, if they had made religion an instrument of faction, and had been for stirring up a persecution against them? We should consider, that to them we owe the oracles of God, the scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old; we should consider, that *the glorious company of the apostles* as well as *the goodly fellowship of the prophets* were Jews; we should consider, that *of them as concerning the flesh Christ came*, the Saviour of the world: and surely something of kindness and gratitude is due for such infinite obligations. Tho' they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. *Because of unbelief*, as St. Paul argues, (ver. 20.) *they were broken off, and thou standest by faith; Be not high-minded, but fear.* There will be a time, when they will be grafted in again, and again become the people of God; for as the apostle proceeds, (ver. 25, 26.) *I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part is happened to Israel,*

until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved. And which (think ye) is the most likely method to contribute to their conversion, which are the most natural means of reconciling them to us and our religion, prayer, argument, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness; or noise and invective, injury and outrage, the malice of some, and the folly and madness of more? They cannot be worse than when they crucified the Son of God, and persecuted his apostles: but what saith our Saviour? (Luke XXIII. 34.) *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do:* what saith his apostle St. Paul? (Rom. X. 1.) *Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.* In conformity to these blessed examples our church hath also taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and persecution consist and agree together? They are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion, who encourage persecution of any kind. All true sons of the church, all true protestants, all true christians will, as the apostle adviseth, (Eph. IV. 31.) *put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice;* and will join heart and voice in that excellent collect—*Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and here-*

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tics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word: and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord.



IX.

The prophecies concerning NINEVEH.

AS the Jews were the peculiar people of God, the prophets were sent to them chiefly, and the main subjects of the prophecies are the various changes and revolutions in the Jewish church and state. But the spirit of prophecy is not limited there; other subjects are occasionally introduced; and for the greater manifestation of the divine providence, the fate of other nations is also foretold: and especially of those nations, which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourse and connexions with the Jews; and whose good or ill fortune therefore was of some concern and consequence to the Jews themselves. But here it is greatly to be lamented, that of these eastern nations and of these early times we have very short and imperfect accounts; we have no regular histories, but only a few fragments of history, which have escaped the general shipwreck of time. If we possessed the Assyrian history written by Abydenus, and the Chaldean

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by Berosus, and the Egyptian by Manetho; we might in all probability be better enabled to explain the precise meaning, and to demonstrate the exact completion of several ancient prophecies: but for want of such helps and assistances we must be glad of a little glimmering light, wherever we can see it. We see enough however, tho' not to discover the beauty and exactness of each particular, yet to make us admire in the general these wonders of providence, and to show that the condition of cities and kingdoms hath been such, as the prophets had long ago foretold. And we will begin with the instance of Nineveh.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and the Assyrians were formidable enemies to the kingdoms both of Israel and Judah. In the days of Menahem king of Israel Pul the king of Assyria invaded the land, and was bought off with a thousand talents of silver. (2 Kings XV. 19.) A few years afterwards *in the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took several cities, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.* (2 Kings XV. 29.) The same Tiglath-pileser was invited by Ahaz king of Judah to come and assist him against Rezin king of Syria,

and Pekah king of Israel: *And Abaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria.* (2 Kings XVI. 8.) The king of Assyria came accordingly to his assistance, and routed his enemies: but still, as another sacred writer saith, *distressed him, and strengthened him not.* (2 Chron. XXVIII. 20.) A little after in the days of Hoshea king of Israel *Shalmaneser the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and after a siege of three years took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.* (2 Kings XVII. 5, 6.) It was in the sixth year of Hezekiah king of Judah, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria carried Israel away captive: and in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. (2 Kings XVIII. 10, 13.) And the king of Assyria exacted of the king of Judah *three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold; so that even good king Hezekiah was forced to give him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house.* (ver. 14, 15.) Sennacherib notwithstanding sent his captains with

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a great host against Jerusalem (ver. 17 :) but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was afterwards slain at Nineveh. (2 Kings XIX. 35, 36, 37.) His son Esarhaddon completed the deportation of the Israelites, and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthab, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. (2 Kings XVII. 24, Ezra IV. 2.) We see then that the Assyrians totally destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and greatly oppressed the kingdom of Judah: and no wonder therefore that they are made the subject of several prophecies.

The prophet Isaiah denounceth the judgments of God against Sennacherib in particular, and against the Assyrians in general. *O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, or rather Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger.* (X. 5.) God might employ them as the ministers of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance; and so make the wickedness of some nations the means of correcting that of others: *I will send him against an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the streets.* (ver. 6.)

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But it was far from any intent of theirs to execute the divine will, or to chastise the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conquests, and establish their own dominion upon the ruins of others: *Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few.* (ver. 7.) Wherefore when they shall have served the purposes of divine providence, they shall be severely punished for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbours: *Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks.* (ver. 12.) There was no prospect of such an event, while the Assyrians were in the midst of their successes and triumphs; but still the word of the prophet prevailed: and it was not long after these calamities brought upon the Jews, of which we have given a short deduction, that the Assyrian empire properly so called was overthrown, and Nineveh destroyed.

Nineveh, or Ninus, as it was most usually called by the Greeks and Romans, was, as we said before, the capital city of the Assyrian empire; and the capital is frequently put for the

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whole empire, the prosperity or ruin of the one being involved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, being built by Asfhur or as others say by Nimrod; for those words of Moses (Gen. X. 11.) which our translators together with most of the ancient versions render thus, *Out of that land went forth Asfhur, and builded Nineveh*, others translate, as the (1) Chaldee paraphrast translates them, and as they are rendered in the margin of our bibles, *Out of that land he*, that is Nimrod, the person spoken of before, *went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh*. It is well known that the word *Asfhur* in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of the man, and the preposition is often omitted, so that the words may very well be translated *he went forth into Assyria*. And Moses is here giving an account of the sons of Ham, and it may seem foreign to his subject to intermix the story of any of the sons of Shem, as Asfhur was. Moses afterwards recounts the sons of Shem, and Asfhur among them; and it is presumed that he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the series of the genealogy and to the order of the history.

(1) De terra illa egressus est in Assyriam. Onk.

(2)

history. But this notwithstanding I incline to understand the text literally as it is translated, *Out of that land went forth Asshur*, being expelled thence by Nimrod, *and builded Nineveh* and other cities, in opposition to the cities which Nimrod had founded in the land of Shinar. And neither is it foreign to the subject, nor contrary to the order of the history, upon the mention of Nimrod's invading and seizing the territories of Asshur, to relate whither Asshur retreated and where he fortified himself against him. But by whomsoever Nineveh was built, it might afterwards be greatly enlarged and improved by Ninus, and called after his name, whoever Ninus was, for that is altogether uncertain.

As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In Jonah it is stiled *that great city*, (I. 2, III. 2,) *an exceeding great city*. (III. 3.) In the original it is (2) *a city great to God*; in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles (VII. 20,) *an ex-*

ασει

(2) עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לְאֱלֹהִים

Deo magna civitas

πολις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ. Sept.

(3) πολὺν δὲ μείζων ἢ τῆς Βαβυλωνίᾳ. Ea multo major erat Babylone. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 737. Edit. Paris. p. 1071. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(4) ——— ἰσπεὺς τελευταυτῆς

κτισαὶ τὸ μέγεθος πολιν, ὡς τὴν μὴ μόνον αὐτὴν εἶναι μεγίστην τότε εἶναι κατὰ πάσαν τὴν οὐρανὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεταγενέστερων ἑτέροις ἐπιβαλλομένοις ἑαυτῇ ὥστε ὑπερβῆσθαι. tantæ quoque molis urbem condere festinabat ut non modo omnium tunc in orbe terrarum maxima existeret

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(5) an ex

et etiam ut
rum tale q
cile supera
q πολιν εδε
το μεγεθ
το τειχ
ullo enim
anto ambitu
agnificencia

αἰετος τῷ θεῷ, *fair to God, or exceeding fair*, as our translators rightly render it; and so *the mountains of God* (Psal. XXXVI. 6.) are exceeding high mountains, and *the cedars of God* (Psal. LXXX. 10,) are exceeding tall cedars. It was therefore *an exceeding great city*; and the scripture-account is confirmed by the testimony of heathen authors. Strabo (3) says, that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and (4) Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias affirms that 'its builder Ninus proposed to build a city of such magnitude, that it should not only be the greatest of the cities which were then in all the world, but that none of those who should be born after that time attempting the like should easily exceed it;' and a little after he subjoins, that 'no body afterwards built such a city, either as to the greatness of the compass, or as to the magnificence of the walls.' It is added in Jonah (III. 3.) that it was (5) *an exceeding great city of three days journey*, that

etiam ut nemo post gen-
 erum tale quid aggressus ipsum
 facile superaret — τηλικαυτην
 πολιν εδεις υψισιν εντισε κατα
 το μεγαλόν τε περιεβολην και την
 μεγαλοπρεπειαν. A
 nullo enim postmodum urbs
 tanto ambitus spatio, tantaque
 magnificencia manium construc-

ta fuit. Diod. Siculus. Lib. 2.
 p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 91, 92.
 Edit. Rhod.

(5) Civitas magna, et tanti
 ambitus; ut vix trium dierum
 posset itinere circumiri. Hieron.
 Comment. in locum. p. 1486.
 Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(6) τος

that is of three days journey in circuit, as Strabo and the best commentators expound it. Strabo, as it was observed before, hath said that Nineveh was much larger than Babylon; and a little afterwards he says, that (6) the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs; but (7) Diodorus Siculus asserts that the whole circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs; which (8) make somewhat more than 60 miles, and 60 miles were three days journey, 20 miles a day being the common computation for a foot-traveler. It is farther said in Jonah (IV. 11.) that in Nineveh *there were more than sixscore thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand, and their left hand, and also much cattle.* I think it is (9) generally calculated that the young children of any place are a fifth part of the inhabitants; and if we admit of that calculation the whole number of inhabitants in Nineveh amounted to above six hundred thousand which number will appear by no means incredible

(6) τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἔχει τὴν τοῦ τετρακοσίων οὐδονηκόντα πέντε σταδίων. muri ambitu CCCXXCV stadiorum. Strabo. ibid. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(7) τὴν συμπαγῆτος περιβολὴν συσταδίων ἐκ σταδίων τετρακοσίων καὶ οὐδονηκόντα. Ambitus totus stadiis CCCXXC constat. Lib.

2. p. 56. Edit. Steph. p. 92. Edit. Rhodoman.

(8)—Nini circuitus stadiorum fuisse CCCCLXXX, id est miliarium sexaginta; quæ triduum iter facient, si singulorum dierum iter æstimes viginti miliaribus: quomodo definitur non Jurisconsulti solum, sed Græcorum vetustissimi. Herodotus Lib. 5.

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thod of
is reduc
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more tha
yet these
bitants,
have am
credible
totus Lib. 5
ta δὲ καὶ ἐκ
ικατὴ διέσω
aginta stad
ragrantibus.
ginti milliar
aleg. Lib. 1
2.
(9) Bochart
owth's Com
et's.

credible, if we consider the dimensions of the city as given by (1) Diodorus Siculus, that it was in length 150 furlongs, in breadth 90 furlongs, and in circuit 480 furlongs, that is 20 miles long, about 12 miles broad, and above 60 miles in compass. A city of such dimensions might easily contain such a number of inhabitants, and many more: and at the same time there might be, as there are in most of the great cities of the east, large vacant spaces for gardens or for pasture; so that there might be, as the sacred text asserts there was, *also much cattle*. But according to the (2) modern method of calculation the number of the Ninevites is reduced much lower. For allowing that the number of infants was one hundred and thirty thousand, as the scripture saith that they were more than one hundred and twenty thousand; yet these making but three tenths of the inhabitants, the number of citizens will appear to have amounted to four hundred and twenty three

totus Lib. 5. Cap. 53. *πεντα-
κτα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδία ἐπ' ἡμη-
κτα διέξισσι, centum et quin-
aginta stadia unoquoque die
peragantibus. CL stadia sunt
viginti milliaria &c. Bocharti
Geogr. Lib. 4. Cap. 20. Col.*

(9) Bochart. *ibid.* Col. 253.
Owth's Comment. and Cal-
culat's.

(1) εχει δε των μιν μακροτερων
πλευρων ἑκατεραν ἢ πολεις ὅν σταδιων,
των καὶ βραχυτερων, εὐσηκοντα. κ.
τ. λ. Latus utrinque longius
ad CL stadia excurrit; reliqua
duo minora, XC obtinent. &c.
Diod. Sic. *ibid.*

(2) Maitland's Hist. of Lon-
don. Book 3. Chap. 2. p. 542.

(3) Mait-

three thousand. London and Paris stand not upon one quarter of the ground, and yet are supposed to contain more inhabitants; London even more than the former calculation, and Paris more than the latter; it being (3) computed that in London there are about 725943 persons, and about 437478 in Paris.

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like those of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. Whereupon it pleased God to commission the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the necessity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending destruction: and such was the success of his preaching, that both the king and the people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments. Who this king of Assyria was we cannot be certain, we can only make conjectures, his name being not mentioned in the book of Jonah. Archbishop (4) Usher supposeth him to have been Pul the king of Assyria, who afterward invaded the kingdom of Israel, in the days of Menahem (2 Kings XV. 19.) it being very agreeable to the methods of providence to make use of an hea-

(3) Maitland p. 541, et 548.

(4) See Usher's

then king who was penitent, to punish the impenitency of God's own people Israel. But it should seem more probable, that this prince was one of the kings of Assyria, before any of those who are mentioned in scripture. For Jonah is reckoned the most ancient of all the prophets usually so called, whose writings are preserved in the canon of scripture. We know that he prophesied of the restoration of the coasts of Israel taken by the king of Syria, which was accomplished by Jeroboam the second: (2 Kings XIV. 25.) and therefore Jonah must have lived before that time; and is with great reason supposed by bishop Lloyd in his Chronological Tables to have prophesied at the latter end of Jehu's, or the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz; when the kingdom of Israel was reduced very low; and greatly oppressed by Hazael king of Syria. (2 Kings X. 32.) If he prophesied at that time, there intervened Jehoahaz's reign of seventeen years, Joash's reign of sixteen years, Jeroboam's of forty and one years, Zachariah's of six months, Shallum's of one month, and Menahem was seated on the throne of Israel, before any mention is made of Pul

(4) See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3233. p. 58. and Lowth's Comment.

Pul the king of Assyria: and therefore we may reasonably conclude from the distance of time, which was above seventy years, that Jonah was not sent to Pul the king of Assyria, but to one of his predecessors, tho' to whom particularly we are unable to discover, for the want before complained of, the want of Assyrian histories, which no doubt would have related so memorable a transaction.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may presume, was of no long continuance. For not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire destruction of the city; tho' there is no certainty of the time of Nahum's, any more than of Jonah's prophesying. Josephus (5) saith that he flourished in the time of Jotham king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass one hundred and fifteen years afterwards. St. Jerome (6) placeth him under

Hezekia

(5) Εἰς δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ
καὶ αὐτοῦ Νάβου. ἡ ἐπο-
μα. Erat autem quidem eo
tempore vates, cui nomen Na-
humus. συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ
προφητευμένα περὶ Νινυῆος, μετὰ στή
ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πεντηκιστένα. evene-
runt autem omnia quæ de Ni-
neveh prædicta sunt centum et
quindecim post annos. Jos. An-

tiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 11. Sect.
p. 422, 423. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Naum, qui interpretatur
consolator. Jam enim decem
tribus ab Assyriis deductæ fu-
rant in captivitatem sub Esar-
chia rege Juda, sub quo etiam
nunc in consolationem populi
transmigrati, adversum Ninive-
m visio cernitur. Nec e-

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Hezekiah, king of Judah, and saith that his name by interpretation is *a comforter*; for the ten tribes being carried away by the king of Assyria, this vision was to comfort them in their captivity; nor was it a less consolation to the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who remained in the land, and were besieged by the same enemies, to hear that these conquerors would in time be conquered themselves, their city be taken, and their empire overthrown. All that is said of him in scripture is *Nahum the Elkoshite*, (Nahum I. 1.) which title in all probability was given him from the place of his nativity; and (7) St. Jerome supposeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were shown to him, when he traveled in those parts. Now we learn from the sacred history, (2 Kings XV. 29.) that the people of *Galilee* were taken by *Tiglatb-pileser king of Assyria*, and carried captive into *Assyria*. It is not improbable

va consolatio, tam his qui Naum. p. 1558. Vol. 3. Edict. in Assyriis serviebant, quam Benedict.

(7) Elcesi usque hodie in Galilæa viculus, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notis Judæis; et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus. Hieron. ibid. p. 1559.

ble therefore, that at that time this prophet, who was a Galilean, might be instructed to foretel the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham king of Judah, which is the time assigned for Nahum's prophesying by Josephus. But if Josephus was right in this particular, he was wrong in another; for more than one hundred and fifteen years intervened between the reign of Jotham king of Judah, and the destruction of Nineveh, as it is usually computed by chronologers. There is one thing, which might greatly assist us in fixing the time of Nahum's prophesying; and that is the destruction of No-Amon or Diospolis in Egypt, which he mentions (Chap. III. 8, &c.) as a late transaction, if we could know certainly, when that destruction happened, or by whom it was effected. It is commonly attributed to Nebuchadnezzar; but that time is too late, and the destruction of No-Amon would fall out after the destruction of Nineveh instead of before it. Dr. Prideaux (8) with more reason believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched against Jerusalem.

(8) Prid. Connect. Part 1. p. 45. Edit. Gale.
Book 1. Anno 713. Hezek.

(1) Hieron in Naum II. p. 1574. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedicti.

(9) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. Seder Olam Rabba foli N. buch.

rusalem; and then Nahum's prophesying would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time assigned for it by St. Jerome.

But whenever it was that Nahum prophesied, he plainly and largely foretold the destruction of Nineveh; his whole prophecy relates to this single event: and the city was accordingly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. This point I think is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and uniting together subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus (9) affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome after the Hebrew chronicle (1) asserts that it was taken by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians: but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did according to that

Nabuchodonosoro rem attribuit, et tem patris. Ebraicum hoc
 tempus ponit. Anno primo Chronicon secuti sunt S. Hiero-
 nabuchodonosor subegit Nine- nymus &c. Marsham Chron.
 tem, id est, non diu post mor- Sac. XVIII. p. 559.

that which is written in the book of Tobit, (XIV. 15.) if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus; *But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.* Josephus (2) who saith in one place that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another that the Medes and Babylonians dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself (3) saith that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesias, and after him (4) Diodorus Siculus ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire,

(2) συνέβη τῇ τῶν Ασσυρίων ἀρχῇ ὑπὸ Μιδῶν καταλυθῆναι. Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 435. — Μιδες καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης, οἱ τῇ Ασσυρίῳ κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν. Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudson.

(3) καὶ τὴν τε Νινὴν ἴδον, καὶ τῆς Ασσυρίης ὑπόλοιπους ἐπὶ αἰῶνα ἔσθαι τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μέρος. et

Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriorumque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 106. p. 45. Edit. Gale.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 78. Edit. Steph. p. 110. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in Canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiae, *Abaces Medus*, ait, Num. 1197. *Assyricum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transfudit.* Del.

(p)

pire, to Arbaces the Mede assisted by Belesis the Babylonian. I know that (5) Eusebius, and after him several excellent chronologers, Ulther, Prideaux, and others reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city, should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expressly, (6) that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, leveled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted. If there is some difficulty in discovering the persons by whom Nineveh was taken, there is more

Assy-
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Editio
2. p.
Editio
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ce, Ar-
1197
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Dei
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post annos 213) ex auctoritate
Herodoti, Num. 1410. *Cyaxa-
rus Medus subvertit Ninum.* Ista
autem *assurata* sunt. Marsha-
li Chronicon. Sæc. XVIII. p.
56.

(6) ὁ δ' ἐν Ἀρβακῆς τοῖς κατὰ
τοὺς πόλιν ἐπιτελῶς προσηλθὼν,
οἷος μὲν κατὰ κώμας διώκων,
—τῆς δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἰδαφὴν κατε-
σάλην. ἐπὶ αὖτ' αὖτ' οὖν τὸν τι ἀργύρου
καὶ χρυσοῦ, —πολλῶν οὐκ ἔ-
λαττον, ἀπεκόμισεν τῆς Μηδίας
ἐκβάτανα. ἡ μὲν ἔτι ἡγεμονία

των Ασσυριων—ὑπο Μηδων κα-
τελυθη τοις προσηλθουσιν τροπον. Si-
mili quoque lenitate erga cives
usus, quamvis in pagos eos dis-
traheret:—urbem autem solo
æquavit. Tum argentum et
aurum—(multa certe talenta
efant) in Ecbatana Medorum
regiam transtulit. Hoc ergo
modo Assyriorum imperium—
a Mediis eversum est. Diod.
Sic. Lib. 2. p. 81. Edit. Steph.
p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

Assyrian history. But to our regret this history was never finished, or is lost. More probably it was never finished, for otherwise some or other of the ancients would have mentioned it. If it had been extant with his other works, it would in all probability have been of great service in illustrating several passages in Nahum's prophecies. It is however something fortunate, that we can in some measure supply this loss out of Diodorus Siculus. Nahum prophesies, that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken, (I. 10.) *For while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble full dry:* and (9) Diodorus relates, that 'it was while all the Assyrian army were feasting for their former victories, that those about Arbaces being informed by some desertors of the negligence and drunkenness in the camp of the enemies, assaulted them unexpectedly

Lib. 1. και μαθην, νυκτος απροσδοκητως
 t. Gale. επιβησιν ποιησαντο, προσπιπον-
 Lib. 1. ης δ' συνταγματοι μιν ασυντακτοις,
 . Grec. τινος δ' απαρασκευοις, της τε πα-
 πολλης κρατησαν, και των γρατιω-
 πολλης αιλοντις, της αλλης
 ης της πολεις καταδιωξαν. Το-
 igitur exercitu conviviis in-
 gente, Arbaces per transfu-
 de negligentia et ebrietate

hostium edoctus, noctu ex im-
 proviso illos opprimit. Et quo-
 niam compositi incompositos,
 parati imperatos invadabant, fa-
 cile et craftra expugnant, et
 vastam hostium stragem edunt,
 et reliquos in urbem compel-
 lunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p.
 80. Edit. Steph. p. 112. Edit.
 Rhod.

‘ pectedly by night, and falling orderly on
 ‘ them disorderly, and prepared on them un-
 ‘ prepared, became masters of the camp, and
 ‘ slew many of the soldiers, and drove the rest
 ‘ into the city.’ Nahum foretels (II. 6.) that
*the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the pa-
 lace shall be dissolved:* and (1) Diodorus informs
 us, ‘ that there was an old prophecy, that Ni-
 ‘ neveh should not be taken, till the river
 ‘ became an enemy to the city; and in the
 ‘ third year of the siege, the river being swollen
 ‘ with continual rains overflowed part of the city,
 ‘ and broke down the wall for 20 furlongs;
 ‘ then the king thinking that the oracle was
 ‘ fulfilled and the river become an enemy to the
 ‘ city,

(1) ἢ δ' αὐτῶ λογιῶν παραδο-
 μένων ἐκ παλαιῶν, ὅτι τὴν Νινὴν
 οὐδεὶς ἔλη κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ
 πρῶτον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γι-
 νηταὶ πολεμῶν. — τῷ τρίτῳ
 δ' ἔτι Συνοχῶς οὐδ' ὁμῶν ῥαγδαίως
 καταρῥαγνέτων, Συνοχῇ τοῦ Εὐφρα-
 τὴν [Τίγριν] μεγάλῳ γενομένῳ κατα-
 κλυθῆναι τὴν μερὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
 καταβαλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ γα-
 διῶς ἵκοισιν. ἔνταυθα ὁ βασιλεὺς
 μάλιστα τετελειῶσαι τὸν χρόνον,
 καὶ τῇ πόλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ γιγ-
 νῆσαι φανερώς πολεμῶν, ἀπέγνω
 τὴν ᾠτίαν. ἵα δὲ μὴ τοῖς
 πολεμῶσι γιγνῆσαι ὑποχειρῶς, συ-
 ραν ἢ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατεσκευ-
 ασθῆναι ὑπερμεγέλη, καὶ τοῦ τι

χρόνου καὶ τοῦ ἀγέροντος ἔπαυ-
 σεν. — δευτέρως τὴν βασιλείαν
 ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συν-
 ῥησε. τὰς δὲ παραλαβὴς αὐ-
 τῆς εὐνοχῆς Συνοχῆς καὶ τῆς
 ἐν μισθῇ τῇ πόλει κατεσκευασ-
 μένων οἰκῶν, ἅμα τεταῖς ἀπασ-
 ῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βασιλείᾳ κα-
 τέκλει. οἱ δ' ἀπογοῖται, ἐν-
 θοιμοὶ τὴν ἀπολείαν Σαρ-
 ματῶν, τῆς μὲν πόλεως κα-
 τέκλει, εἰσπεύοντες κατὰ τὸ πρῶ-
 τόν τε μερὸς τῆς πόλεως. Atque
 vaticinium a maioribus tradi-
 tum habebat; A nullo cap-
 tum Ninum posse, nisi fluvius ur-
 prius hostis evaderet — Ter-
 demum anno accidit, ut Euphra-

‘ cit
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 ‘ cor
 ‘ the
 ‘ ter
 ‘ and
 the fir
 fulfille
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 mifes
 (II. 9.
 of gold
 out of
 in (2)
 talents

es [Tigris
 parifimori
 refcens, u
 et, et muru
 ceret. Tur
 raculum,
 urbi hosti
 ans, spem f
 ne in hof
 ret, rogu
 aruxit; qu
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city, built a large funeral pyle in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself and the palace with them all; and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, and took the city.' What was predicted in the first chapter (ver. 8.) was therefore litterally fulfilled, *With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof.* Nahum promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver, (II. 9.) *Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store, and glory out of all the pleasant furniture:* and we read in (2) Diodorus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city

[Tigris] continuis imbrium
ravissimorum tempestatibus ex
rescens, urbis partem inunda-
et, et murum ad stadia XX de-
ceret. Tum vero finem habere
aculum, amnemque manifeste
urbi hostem esse, rex judi-
ans, spem salutis abiecit. Ita-
ne in hostium manus perve-
ret, rogam in regia ingentem
struxit; quo aurum et argen-
um omne, et quicquid erat re-
vestimenti, congestit. Tum
cubinis et eunuchis in do-
mulum, quam in medio py-
cestruxerat, conclusis, se
cum illis omnibus
radio absumpsit. Cujus in-

teritum cum audissent, qui a
rege defecerant, per collapsam
muri partem ingressi, urbem
ceperunt. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2.
p. 80. Edit. Steph. p. 113.
Edit. Rhod.

(2) ΕΠΙΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΙ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΧΡΥΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΥΡΑΣ
ΥΠΟΛΕΙΘΕΝΤΑ, ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΤΑ-
ΛΑΝΤΩΝ, ΑΠΕΚΟΜΙΣΕ ΤΟΣ ΜΗΔΙΑΣ
ΕΙ; Ε-ΕΒΑΤΑΝΑ. Tum quicquid
argenti auriue ex pyra resta-
bat (multa certe talenta erant)
in Ecbatana Medorum regiam
translulit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2.
p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit.
Rhod.

city of the Medes. According to Nahum (I. 8. III. 15.) the city was to be destroyed by fire and water; and we see in Diodorus, that by fire and water it was destroyed.

But Nahum is cited upon this occasion principally to show, that he foretold the total and entire destruction of this city. *The Lord, saith he in the first chapter, (ver. 8, 9.) with an over-running flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time.* Again in the second chapter, (ver. 11, 13.) *Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions?* meaning Nineveh whose princes ravaged like lions: *behold, I am against thee saith the Lord of hosts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.* And again in the third and last chapter, (ver. 17, 18, 19.) *Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known where they are, or have been; the shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon*

(3) Το μὴ γὰρ ἰδοὺ εἰς τὸ τριῶν ἁμασιῶν ἱπτασμέναι π. τευχ. ποδῶν ἑκατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος δὲ Συμπαντες, σωργοὶ τοῦ μὴ αἰ

the mountains, and no man gathereth them: there is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually? The prophet Zephaniah likewise in the days of Josiah king of Judah foretold the same sad event, (II. 13, 14, 15.) *The Lord will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness: and flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me; how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her, shall hiss and wag his hand. But what probability was there that the capital city of a great kingdom, a city which was sixty miles in compass, a city which contained so many thousand inhabitants, a city which had walls, according to (3) Diodorus Siculus, a hundred feet high, and*

καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις πεντακκοσίοις τοῖς
μυρῶν πόδων διακροῖται.

Nam murus ad C pedum altitudinem exsurgebat, et ad trium latitudinem

and so thick that three chariots could go abreast upon them; and fifteen hundred towers at proper distances in the walls of two hundred feet in highth: what probability was there, I say, that such a city should ever be totally destroyed? and yet so totally was it destroyed, that the place is hardly known where it was situated.

We have seen that it was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians: and what we may suppose helped to complete its ruin and devastation was Nebuchadnezzar's soon afterwards enlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the sacred writers; and the most ancient of the heathen authors, who have occasion to say any thing about it, speak of it as a city that once was great and flourishing, but now destroyed and desolate. Great as it was formerly, so little of it was remaining, that authors are not agreed even about its situation. I think we may conclude from the general suffrage of ancient historians and geographers, that

latitudinem curruum junctim
agitandorum porrectus erat.
Turres in eo MD ducentos pe-
des altæ. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2.
p. 65. Edit. Steph. p. 92. Edit.
Rhod.

(4) Diod. Sic. *ibid.* et p. 80.

Edit. Steph. p. 113. Edit. Rhod.

(5) Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4.
Cap. 20. Col. 248, 249.

(6) Non video hæc aliter
posse conciliari, quam si dica-
tur duplex fuisse Ninus; una ad
Euphratem in Comagena; altera

in Assyria
Bochart. *ibid.*
(7) Estigitur
(8) Ninus tri-
aca, et Peri-
aron. Sæc.
(8) H. Nu

it was situated upon the river Tigris; but yet no less authors than (4) Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus represent it as situated upon the river Euphrates. Nay authors differ not only from one another, but also from themselves. For the learned (5) Bochart hath shown that Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, all three speak differently of it, sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Tigris, and sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Euphrates. So that to reconcile these authors with themselves and with others, it is supposed by (6) Bochart that there were two Ninevehs, and by (7) Sir John Marsham that there were three; the Syrian upon the river Euphrates, the Assyrian upon the river Tigris, and a third built afterwards upon the Tigris by the Persians, who succeeded the Parthians in the empire of the east in the third century, and were subdued by the Saracens in the seventh century after Christ: but whether this later Nineveh was built in the same place as old Nineveh is a question that cannot be decided. Lucian, (8) who flourished in

in Assyria trans Tigrim &c.
Bochart, ibid.

(7) Edigitur (in veterom scrip-
(9) Ninus triplex, Syriaca, Assy-
rica, et Persica. &c. Marshami
Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

(8) Η Νινὴ ἀπολῶναι ἤδη,

καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον ἐπὶ λοιπὸν αὐτῆς,
εἰδ' αὖ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ποτ' ἔτι. Ninus
jam est everfa. ita ut ne reliquum
quidem sit ejus vestigium, nec
ubi olim sita fuerit, facile dix-
eris. Luciani Εἰπίτκ. vel Con-
templantes, prope finem.

(9) Ben-

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(9) Ben-

in the second century after Christ, affirms that Nineveh was utterly perished, and there was no footstep of it remaining, nor could you tell where once it was situated: and the greater regard is to be paid to Lucian's testimony, as he was a native of Samosata, a city upon the river Euphrates, and coming from a neighbouring country he must in all likelihood have known whether there had been any remains of Nineveh or not. There is at this time a city called Mosul, situate upon the western side of the river Tigris, and on the opposite eastern shore are ruins of a great extent, which are said to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela, (9) who wrote his Itinerary in the year of Christ 1173, informs us, that there is only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh; this latter is laid waste, yet hath it many streets and castles. But another, who wrote in 1300, asserts that Nineveh at present is totally laid waste, but by the ruins which are still to be seen there, we may firmly believe that it was one of the

(5) Benjamin Tudelenfis (qui scripsit Itinerarium anno Xti 1173) *Inter Almozal, ait (p. 62.) et Nineven pons tantum intercedit: Hæc devastata est: attamen multos pagos et arces habet.* At vero Hæton Armenius (De Tartar. C. II. P. 406.) (anno 1300) *Ista civitas (Nineve) ad præsens est totaliter devastata.* Martham Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 558 *Sed per ea, quæ adhuc sunt apparentia in eadem, firmiter creditur quod fuerit una ex majoribus civitatibus huiusmodi.*

the greatest cities in the world. The same thing is attested by later travelers, and particularly by (1) Thevenot, upon whose authority Prideaux relates that "Mosul is situated on the west side of the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old Nineveh, for the city itself stood on the east-side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even to this day." Tavernier likewise (2) affirms, that "cross the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish water, whereas Euphrates runs slow and is reddish, you come to the ancient city Nineveh, which is now an heap of rubbish only, for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns." Mr. (3) Salmon, who is an industrious collector and compiler from others, saith in his account of Assyria, "In this country the famous city of Nineveh once stood, on the eastern bank of the river Tigris, opposit to the place where Mosul now stands—There is nothing now to be seen but heaps of rubbish,

Scripturæ hujus mundi. Idem
Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 4.
 Chap. 20. Col. 255.

(1) Thevenot's Travels. Part
 Book 1. Chap. 11. p. 50.
 Prideaux's Connect. Part 1.

Book 1. Anno 612. Josiah 29.

(2) Tavernier in Harris. Vol.
 2. Book 2. Chap. 4.

(3) Salmon's Modern Hist.
 Vol. 1. Chap. 12. Present State
 of the Turkish Empire. Quarto.

“ bish, almost a league along the river Tigris,
 “ overagainst Mosul, which people imagin to
 “ be the remains of this vast city.” But it is
 more than probable that these ruins are the
 remains of the Persian Nineveh, and not of the
 Assyrian. Even the ruins of old Nineveh have
 been, as I may say, long ago ruined and de-
 stroyed: such *an utter end* hath been made of
 it, and such is the truth of the divine predic-
 tions !

This perhaps may strike us the more strongly
 by supposing only a parallel instance. Let us
 then suppose, that a person should come in the
 name of a prophet, preaching repentance to the
 people of this kingdom, or otherwise denoun-
 cing the destruction of the capital city within a
 few years; *with an over-running flood will God*
make an utter end of the place thereof, he will
make an utter end; its place may be sought, but it
shall never be found. I presume we should look
 upon such a prophet as a madman, and show
 no farther attention to his message than to
 deride and despise it: and yet such an event
 would not be more strange and incredible than
 the destruction and devastation of Nineveh.
 For Nineveh was much the larger, and much
 the stronger, and older city of the two; and
 the Assyrian empire had subsisted and flourished

more ages than any form of government in this country : so that you cannot object the instability of the eastern monarchies in this case. Let us then, since this event would not be more improbable and extraordinary than the other, suppose again, that things should succeed according to the prediction, the floods should arise, and the enemy should come, the city should be overflown and broken down, be taken and pillaged, and destroyed so totally, that even the learned could not agree about the place where it was situated. What would be said or thought in such a case? Whoever of posterity should read and compare the prophecy and event together, must they not by such an illustrious instance be thoroughly convinced of the providence of God, and of the truth of his prophet, and be ready to acknowlege, *Verily this is the word that the Lord hath spoken, Verily there is a God who judgeth the earth!*



X.

The prophecies concerning BABYLON.

AFTER Nineveh was destroyed, Babylon became the queen of the east. They were both equally enemies to the people of God; the one subverted the kingdom of Israel, and the other the kingdom of Judah; the one carried away the ten tribes, and the other the two remaining tribes into captivity. No wonder therefore that there are several prophecies relating to each of these cities, and that the fate of Babylon is foretold as well as of Nineveh. As Jeremiah said, (L. 17, 18.) *Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away; first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts the God of Israel, Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria.*

Babylon

(1) περιβαλετο τειχος τη πολει σταδίων τριακοσίων ἑξηκοντα. CCCLX stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis

ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia complectitur. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(2) κείται εν πεδω μεγαλω, μεγαλο εσσα, μίλιον εκατον, εικοσι και εκατον σταδίων, εσσα τετρα-

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περιβαλετο.
της πολει.
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itum est i
forma quac
quoquo ver

Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for according to Strabo (who was cited in the last discourse) it was only 385 furlongs in compass, or 360 according to (1) Diodorus Siculus, or 368 according to Quintus Curtius: but (2) Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is 480 furlongs or above 60 miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being 120 furlongs in length. So that according to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13500 furlongs, and that Babylon contained 14400. It was too as ancient, or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moses speaking of Nimrod (Gen. X. 10.) it was *the beginning of his kingdom*, that is the first city, or the

ἑξήκοντα. ἑξήκοντα τῆς περιμέτρου
πολλὰ γινώσκαι ὡς ἀπαιτεῖται
καὶ τετρακοσιοί. oppidum
est in planitie ingenti,
forma quadrata, magnitudine
quoque versus centenū vice-

nūm stadiorum, in summa qua-
dringentorum et octoginta, in
circuitu quatuor laterum urbis.
Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 178. p.
74. Edit. Gale.

the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say that Semiramis, but most (as (3) Quintus Curtius asserts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired, and enlarged, and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it; as he boasted himself (Dan. IV. 30.) *Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?* Nor is this asserted only in scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Berosus, and Abydenus, whose words are quoted by (4) Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in scripture (Dan. IV. 30.) *great Babylon*; (Is. XIII. 19.) *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency*; (Is. XIV. 4.) *the golden city*; (Is. XLVII. 5.) *the lady of kingdoms*; (Jer.

(3) Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus. Quint. Curt. ibid.

(4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10,

Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evan. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

(5) r

LI. 13.) *abundant in treasures*; (Jer. LI. 41.) *the praise of the whole earth*: and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in English is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work, Dr. Prideaux's *Connection*. Tho' Babylon was seated in a low watry plain, yet in scripture (Jer. LI. 25.) it is called a *mountain* on account of the great highth of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and (5) Berosus speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its *gates of brass* and its *broad walls* are particularly mentioned in scripture: (Is. XLV. 2. Jer. LI. 58.) and the city (6) had an hundred gates, 25 on each side, all made of solid brass: and its walls according to (7) Herodotus were 350 feet in highth, and

87

(5) τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτης
 ὁμοίας ὁμοίας — quibus speciem de-
 scriptis montibus perfimilem. Jo-
 seph. Antiq. ibid.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 179.
 p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(7) Herod. ibid. Cap. 178.
 Prideaux ibid.

87 in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as (8) Diodorus affirms after Ctesias.

Such a city as this, one would imagin, was in no danger of being totally abandoned, and coming to nought. Such a city as this might surely with less vanity than any other, boast that she should continue for ever, if any thing human could continue for ever. So she vainly gloried, (Is. XLVII. 7, 8.) *I shall be a lady for ever; I am, and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children.* But the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah plainly and particularly foretold the destruction of this city. They lived during the declension of the kingdom of Judah; and as they predicted the captivity of the Jews, so they likewise foretold the downfall of their enemies: and they speak with such assurance of the event, that they describe a thing future as if it were already past. (Is. XXI. 9.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods be hath broken unto the ground.* (Jer. LI. 8.) *Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed; howl for her,*

take

(8) ὅτε το μὲν πλάτος ἦν αὐτῆς
τῶν τευχῶν ἐξ ἄμασις ἵπποσιμον.
ut mænium latitudo sex juxta
curribus vehendis sufficeret.

Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 68. Edit.
Steph. p. 96. Edit. Rhod.

(9) λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ
ἀρχῆς ἰδὼς αὐτῆς, θαλάσσης
καλῶς

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It is so
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of provis
tainly a

οὐ μὲν γὰρ
hac omnia
quis obruta

take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed.

It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is intitled (XXI. 1.) *the burden of the desert of the sea*, or rather *of the plain of the sea*, for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental stile is called *a sea*, but also that the places about Babylon, as (9) Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the sea*.

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name (Is. XLIV. 28. XLV. 1.) above an hundred years before he was born. He is honored with the appellation of *the Lord's anointed*, and the Lord is said to *have holden his right hand*, and to have *girded him*: (Is. XLV. 1, 5.) and he was raised up to be an instrument of providence for great purposes, and was certainly a person of very extraordinary endowments,

Ἰερογλυφικῶς. Ferunt, inquit, loca
hæc omnia jam inde ab initio
aquis obruta fuisse, marisque

nomine appellata. Euseb. Præp.
Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 457.
Edit. Vigeri.

I

(1)—omnem

ments, tho' we should allow that Xenophon had a little exceeded the truth, and had drawn his portrait beyond the reality. It was promised that he should be a great conqueror, should *subdue nations before him*, (Is. XLV. 1.) and *will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut* and he subdued several kings, and took several cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his (1) conquests over all Asia from the river Indus to the Ægean sea. It was promised that he should find great spoil and treasure among the conquered nations; (Is. XLV. 3.) *I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places*: and the riches which Cyrus found in his conquests amounted to a prodigious value in (2) Pliny's account nor can we wonder at it, for those parts of Asia at that time abounded in wealth and luxury. Babylon had been heaping up treasures for many years; and the riches of Cræsus king of Lydia whom Cyrus conquered and took prisoner, and in a manner become proverbial.

The time too of the reduction of Babylon was marked out by the prophet Jeremiah

(XXV)

(1) — omnem Asiam ab India usque ad Ægeum mare. Marthami Chron. Sæc. XVII. p. 587.

(2) Plin.

(2) Plin. Hardui

(XXV. 11, 12.) *These nations (that is the Jews and the neighbouring nations) shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years; And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord.* This prophecy was delivered, as it appears from the first verse of the chapter, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and from that time there were (3) 70 years to the taking of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted the Jews to Babylon to people and strengthen the place, and their removal from thence must have weakened it very much; and after that it was distressed more and more, till at last it was brought to nought.

Several circumstances likewise of the siege and taking of Babylon were presignified by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would stir up the Medes and Persians against it; Go to O Elam, that is Persia, (Is. XXI. 2.) besiege Media; and (Jer. LI. 11.) *the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes,*
for

(2) Plin. Lib. 33. Cap. 15.
dit. Harduin.

(3) See Prideaux and other
chronologers.

(4) Elam

for his device is against Babylon to destroy it. And accordingly it was besieged by the united forces of the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus the Persian, the nephew and son-in-law of the king of the Medes. The Medes are chiefly spoken of, as they were at that time the superior people. The *Medes* too a general name for both nations, and so is used and applied by several Greek historians as well as by the sacred writers. *Elam* (4) was an old name for *Persia*, for the name of *Persia* doth not appear to have been known in Isaiah's time; Ezekiel is the first who mentions it. And (5) Bochart asserts, that the Persians were first so named from their becoming horsemen in the time of Cyrus, the same word signifying both a Persian and a horseman. Or if by *Elam* we understand the province strictly called, it is no less true that this also, tho' subject to Babylon, rose up against it, and upon the

(4) *Elam* est Persis, et cum Media sæpius conjungitur.—*Persarum* nomen, ante captivitatem Babyloniam, obscurum fuit. Ezechiel primus, inter bellicosas gentes, illos recenset, (27: 10. & 38: 5.) quum nondum innotuerant res Cyri. A Cyro demum natione Persâ, et victoriis inclaro, Persarum gloria increbuit. Marsham Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 564.

(5) At Persis ipsis nomen fuit ab equitatu, qua maxime valuerant, equitare a teneris edocuerant. Quâ tamen disciplinâ primus illos imbuit Cyrus.—Itaque tam repentina mutatione factum, ut hæc regio פָּרַס *Paras*, et incolæ פֶּרְסִי *Persæ* dicerentur, id est, equites. Arabice enim פָּרַס *Pharas* est equus, et פָּרַס *Pharis* equis (ut Hebraice פָּרַס *Paras*).

the following occasion. Abradates (6) was viceroys or governor of Susa or Shushan, and Shushan was the capital of the province of Elam. (Dan. VIII. 2.) His wife Panthea, a lady of exquisite beauty, happened to be taken prisoner by the Persians. Cyrus treated her with such generosity, and preserved her with such strict honor safe and inviolate for her husband, as won the heart of the prince, so that he and his forces revolted to Cyrus, and fought in his army against the Babylonians.

It was foretold, that various nations should unite against Babylon; (Is. XIII. 4.) *The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:* and particularly it was foretold, that *the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Asbathenax*, that is the (7) Armenians, Phrygians, and other nations should compose part of his

his

Porro vox eadem Phasagiam Persam significat. Inde quod neque Moses, nec libri Regum, nec Esaias aut Jeremias, Persarum meminerunt, neque quisquam eorum, qui vixerunt ante Cyrum. At in Ezechiele et Ezechiele Cyro coarctatus, et in libris Paralipomenon, Esdrae, et Nehemiae, et Esther, &c. qui post Cyrum scripti

sunt, Persarum est frequens mentio. Antea verisimile est Hebraea nomina כּוּר Chur et יֵלֵם Elam magnam Persidis partem inclusisse. Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Col. 224.

(6) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(7) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Col. 16. et Col. 20. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 174.

(8) Xe-

his army; (Jer. LI. 27.) *Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz: And accordingly Cyrus's army consisted of various nations; and among them were (8) these very people, whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.*

It was foretold, that the Babylonians should be terrified, and hide themselves within their walls; (Jer. LI. 30.) *The mighty men of Babylon have forbore to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women:* And accordingly the Babylonians, after the loss of a battle or two, never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again; they retired within their walls, and this (9) first time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even tho' he sent a challenge to the king to fight.

(8) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib.
5. p. 77. Lib. 7. p. 111. Edit.
Henr. Steph. 1581.

(9) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib.
5. p. 75. Edit. Henr. Steph.
1581.

(1) Ib. Lib. 7. επιτιρις α μα-

χωρται εξιοντες, quia ad pugna
dum non exeunt. p. 112.

(2) Xenoph. Cýropæd. Li
7. ———— πλατὺ ἔχων πλεον

επε δὺο γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ βαλὼν ἡ
 ἡδ' αὖ δὺο αὐτοὺς ὁ ἱερεὺς
 τῶν ἱερῶν ἱσηκῶς τῇ ὑπόστασι.

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fight a duel with him; and the (1) last time that he came, he consulted with his officers about the best method of carrying on the siege, 'since saith he they do not come forth and fight.'

It was foretold, that the river should be dried up, before the city should be taken; which was very unlikely ever to happen, (2) the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than two men standing one upon another, so that the city was thought to be stronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up; (Is. XLIV. 27.) *That saith to the deep Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers;* (Jer. L. 38.) *A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up;* (Jer. LI. 36.) *I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry:* And accordingly (3) Cyrus turned the course of the river Euphrates which ran thro' the midst of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches and the canals and lake before mentioned, so drained the

pugnans
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οτι τω ποταμω επι ισχυρο-
α ης η πολς η τοις τειχεσι.
luminis] latitudo est plus quam
duo stadia: et profunditas
ita ut ne duo quidem viri
super alterum stantes supra
eam emineant. Itaque urbs

validior est flumine quam mu-
ris ibid.

(3) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191.
p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenophon.
Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit.
Steph.

(4) Herod.

the waters that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city; and by these means Babylon was taken, which was otherwise impregnable, and was supplied with provisions for very many years saith (4) Herodotus, for more than twenty years saith Xenophon; or (5) as Herodotus saith, if the Babylonians had but known what the Persians were doing, by shutting the gates which opened to the river, and by standing upon the walls which were built as banks, they might have taken and destroyed the Persians as in a net or cage.

It was foretold, that the city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast; (Jer. L. 24.) *I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware, thou art found and also caught, (LI. 39.)*

(4) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 190. προσάξατο Ὀρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν καρὰ πολλῶν, comportaverant per-multorum annorum commea-tus. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα πολλὴν ἢ εἰκοσὶν ἔτων. ut qui res necessarias haberent plus quam viginti annorum. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

(5) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. εἰ μὲν οὖν πορευθέντο ἡ ἐκεί-
νοι οἱ Βαβυλωνιοὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Κερῆ

ποιουμένου, ὃ δ' αὖ ἐπὶ τῇ
τῆς Περσῆς ἐξελθὼν εἰς τὴν πολὺν
διεφθίρει κακίαν. κατὰ τὴν
τῆς γὰρ αὖ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ
ποταμὸν πολὺν εἶχοντες, καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμείνων ἀνὰ
τῆς τῶν παρὰ τὰ φείλα τὸ ποταμὸν
ἐλθάνοντες, ἐλθόντες αὖ (ὅτι αὖ
κέρη. Quos Babylonii, si fa-
tum Cyri prius aut audissent au-
fessissent, ingredi non permis-
sent, sed pessimo exitu affecti
sent. Nam obseratis omnibus
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their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord; (LI. 57.) And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts: And accordingly the (6) city was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and reveling; and as (7) Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but (8) Herodotus's account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger. These were extraordinary occurrences in the taking of this city:

conscensisque septis, ipsi pro
bis stantes illos progressos ve-

ni in cavea excepissent. ibid.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 191.

79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cy-

ped. Lib. 7. p. 113. Edit.

Steph.

(7) Arist. Polit. Lib. 3. Cap.

3. γι φασιν εαλωκυιας τριτην

μερην εν αισθησαι τι μερς της

πολις. qua tertium jam diem

partem quandam urbis

conscensisse dicunt. p. 341. Vol.

Edit. Du Val.

Vol. I.

(8) Herod. ibid. ὑπο δε με-
γαλει της πολις, ως λεγεται
υπο των ταυτη οικημενων, των
περι τα ισχυατα της πολις εα-
λωκυων, της το μισον οικον-
τας των βασιλωνων, ε μαν-
θανειν εαλωκυιας. Tantaque ur-
bis erat magnitudo, ut (quem-
admodum narrant accolæ) quum
capti essent qui extremas urbis
partes incolebant, ii qui me-
diam urbem incolerent id nes-
cirent.

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(9) K21

city: and how could any man foresee and foretell such singular events, such remarkable circumstances, without revelation and inspiration of God?

But these events you may possibly think too remote in time to be urged in the present argument: and yet the prophecies were delivered by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the facts are related by no less historians than Herodotus and Xenophon; and Isaiah lived above 250 years before Herodotus, and near 350 before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived above 150 years before the one and near 250 before the other. Cyrus took Babylon according to Prideaux in the year 539 before Christ. Isaiah prophesied *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Abaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah*, (Is. I. 1.) which was at least 160 years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year 699 before Christ. Jeremiah sent his prophecies concerning Babylon to Babylon by the hands of Seraiah *in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah*, (Jer. LI. 59.) which was 56 years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year 595 before Christ. There is therefore no room for scepticism: but if you are still disposed to doubt and hesitate, what then think you of the present condition of the place? Could the prophets, unless they were prophets

indeed, have foreseen and foretold what that would be so many ages afterwards? And yet they have expressly foretold that it should be reduced to desolation. Isaiah is very strong and poetical: (XIII. 19 &c.) *Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall be prolonged.* Again (XIV. 22, 23.) *I will rise up against them saith the Lord of hosts, and will cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and inheritance, and nephew (or rather son and grandson) saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep away with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts.* Jeremiah speaketh much in the same manner: (L. 13, 23, 39, 40.) *Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but shall be wholly desolate; everyone that goeth by*

Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues: How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? how is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein. Again (LI. 1. 26, 29, 37, 42, 43.) O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end shall come, and the measure of thy covetousness: And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord: And the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant. And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: The sea is come up upon Babylon, she is covered with the multitude of the waters thereof: Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.

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shall see how these and other prophecies have by degrees been accomplished, for in the nature of the things they could not be fulfilled all at once. But as the prophets often speak of things future, as if they were already effected; so they speak often of things to be brought about in process of time, as if they were to succeed immediately; past, present, and to come being all alike known to an infinite mind, and the intermediate time not revealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Isaiah addresseth Babylon by the name of a virgin, as having never before been taken by any enemy: (Is. XLVII. 1.) *Come down and sit on the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground:* and (9) Herodotus saith expressly, that this was the first time that Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient splendor; from an imperial, it became tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing strangers, it came itself to be governed by strangers; and the seat of empire being transferred to Shushan, it decayed by degrees, till it was reduced at last to utter

(9) Καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν ἔτι πρῶτον αἰχμαλωτῆται. Lib. 1. Cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Atque ita primo Gale. a est Babylon. Herod.

utter desolation. Berosus in Josephus (1) saith that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And (2) Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death distributed their best houses among his officers imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor as the best means of keeping them obedient.

But notwithstanding these precautions, (3) they rebelled against Darius, and in order to hold out to the last extremity, they took all their women, and each man choosing one of them out of those of his own family, whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. "And hereby," saith (4) Dr. Prideaux, "was ver-
"signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against
"them, in which he foretold (Chap. XLVI

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(1) Κυρῷ δὲ Βαβυλῶνα κα-
ταλαβόμενῳ, καὶ συνταξας τὰ
εξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασ-
καίλαι, διὰ τοῦτιαν αὐτῷ πραγ-
ματικῇ καὶ δυστάτῳ φανή-

ναι τῇ πόλει. — Cyrus autē
Babylone capta, constitutoq;
exteriora ejus munimenta diru-
ere, quod civitatem videret
res novas mobilem, urbem ve-

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Apion. Li
344. Edi
(2) Xen
p. 114.

“9.) That two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these shall come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their force-ries, and the great abundance of their enchantments. And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them?” Or rather, this prophecy was then fulfilled a second time, having been fulfilled before, the very night that Babylon was taken, when the Persians slew the king himself and a great number of the Babylonians. They sustained the siege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months, and at length the city was taken by stratagem. As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty, which the Medes and Persians should use towards the Babylonians; (If. XIII. 17, 18. Jer. L. 42.) and he likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which,

expugnatu difficilem — Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 344. Edit. Hudson.
(2) Xenoph. Cyropæd. Lib. 7. p. 114. et 117. Edit. Steph.

(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 150 &c. p. 220. Edit. Gale.

(4) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

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"9

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ναι τῇ πόλει. — Cyrus autē Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret res novas mobilem, urbem ve-

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impugnātū Apion. Lib. 344. Edit. (2) Xen. p. 114.

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(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Cap. 150 &c. p. 220. Edit. Gale.

(4) Prid. Connect. Part 1. Book 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

which, saith (5) Herodotus, had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus, or Berosus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that Cyrus's orders were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berosus spoke of the outer: and yet it doth not seem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious highth and thickness, that there should be an inner and an outer wall too; and much less that there should be three inner and three outer walls, as (6) Berosus affirms. Herodotus (7) computes the highth of the wall to be 200 cubits; but later authors reckon it much lower, (8) Quintus Curtius at 100, (9) Strabo who is a more exact writer at 50 cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from 200 to 50 cubits, and by thus taking down the wall and destroying the gates, he remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, (LI. 58.) *Thus saith the Lord of*

hosts

(5) — το τευχ^{ον} περιελε, και
τας πυλας πασας απισπασε.
(το γαρ προτιρον ελων Κυρ^{ος} την
βαβυλωνια, επoiησε τετειων εδε-
σμο.) muros circumcidit, et por-
tas omnes amolitus est: quo-
rum neutrum Cyrus fecerat pri-
us eidem a se captæ. Herod.
Lib. 3. Cap. 159. p. 223. Edit.
Gale.

(6) — υπερεβαλετο τρις μ^η
της ενδον πολεως περιβολας, τρις
δε της εξω τετειων. ternos quiden
interiori urbi, ternosque pa-
riter exteriori murorum ambi-
tus circumdedit. Apud Jo-
seph. contra Apion. Lib. 1.
Sect. 19. p. 1343. Edit. Hud-
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(7) ελ^{ον} διηκοσιων πεντακ^{ον}
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bests, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire.

Xerxes (1) after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expences, seized the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah; (Is. XXI. 9.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground:* (Is. XLVI. 1.) *Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, &c:* (Jer. L. 2.) *Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols her confounded, her images are broken in pieces:* (Jer. LI. 44, 47, 52.) *And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up; Therefore behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon;*

cubitorum ducentorum celsitudine. Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 78. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

(8) Altitudo muri C cubitorum eminēt spatio. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.

(9) ὕψος δὲ τῶν μὲν μεσοπυργίων, ὡς αὖτε πρυμναίων. Altitudine inter turres cubitorum. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738.

Edit. Paris. p. 1072. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 183. p. 76. Edit. Gale. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. Edit. Gronov. Usher's Annals. A. M. 3526. p. 129. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 4. Anno 479. Xerxes 7.

(2) Quin-

lon; again, and *Wherefore behold the days come saith the Lord, that I will do judgment upon her graven images.* What God declares, *I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth that which he hath swallowed,* was also literally fulfilled, when the vessels of the house of God which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel, (Dan. I. 2.) were restored by order of Cyrus (Ezra I. 7.) and carried to Jerusalem again.

Such was the state of Babylon under the Persians. When Alexander came thither, the (2) Quintus Curtius says that the whole circuit of the city was 368 furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited. The river Euphrates having been turned out of its course by Cyrus, and never afterward restored to its former channel, all that side of the country was flooded by it. Alexander indeed (3) purposed to have made Babylon

(2) Quintus Curtius. Lib. 5. Cap. 1. *Ac ne totam quidem urbem testis occupaverunt; per XC stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt.*

(3) Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 17. p. 296. et Cap. 21. p. 303. Edit. Gronov. Hecataeus apud Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 22. p. 1348. Edit. Hudson. Strabo.

Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1073. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(4) Strabo ibid. Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(5) Plin. ibid. quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur. See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter. 12.

(6) Vitring. Comment. in Isaiam. Cap. 13. p. 421. Vol. 1.

the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into their old channel: and if his designs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? and what providence therefore was it, that his designs did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with some difficulties in the work, and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it: and (4) Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became *wholly desolate*. Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called also (5) Babylon by several others. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valefius, and quoted from him by (6) Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his

Εὐμερὸς ὁ τῶν Παρθῶν βασιλεὺς
 τ. γ. λ. Evemerus, Parthorum
 rex (docuit Valefius clarissime
 quod eruditi viri lubenter ad-
 miferunt, legendum esse Hime-
 ram, Parthorum regis satrapam,
 ex circumstantiis temporis his-
 toria, et collatis locis Justini
 (Athenæi) patria Hyrcanus,
 tyrannos acerbitate vin-
 ceret, nullum servitiæ genus præ-

termisit. Plurimos enim Baby-
 lonios levibus de causis servituti
 addictos, cum omni familia in
 Mediam distrabendos misit. Fo-
 rum quoque et nonnulla delubra
 Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pul-
 cherrima quæque urbis loca ever-
 tit. Accidit casus stante regno
 Seleucidarum, annis admodum
 CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Do-
 mini,

(7) τῶν

his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians and for trifling causes into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about 130 years before Christ: and now let us see what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

Diodorus Siculus (7) describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and asserts that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled, Strabo (8) who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith that part of the city the Persians demolished, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicator had

built

(7) τῶν δὲ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων ὁ χρόνος
τα μὲν ὁλοσχερῶς ἠφανίσαι, τὰ δ'
ἐλημνησθαι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βα-
βυλωνος νῦν βραχὺ τι μέρος οἰκεῖ-
ται, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τοῦ γει-
ωρῆσαι. Regiasque et alias
structuras partim tempus om-
nino abolevit, partim corruptit.
Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua
quædam portio nunc habitatur,
maximaque intra muros pars
agrorum cultui est exposita.
Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 70. Edit.
Steph. p. 98. Edit. Rhod.

(8) ——— καὶ καθήρηναι τῆς
πόλεως, τὰ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰ

δ' ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἡ τῶν Μακεδ-
νῶν οὐλομένη περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.
καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τῇ Σελευ-
κίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Τυγρητί πόλεως
τῆς Βυβυλωνος ἐν τριακοσίαις πε-
σαδίαις εἰληχσεν Σέλευκος ὁ Νικα-
τωρ. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ οἱ
μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες περὶ ταύτης
ἐσπένδασαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ βα-
σιλεῖον ὡς αἰὶν μετήρηναι· καὶ
οὐδὲ καὶ νῦν ἡ μὲν γίγνεται Βαβυλω-
νος μείζων. ἡ δ' ἐρημία ἡ πολλή·
ὥς ἐπὶ αὐτῆς μὴ ἀν' οὐκίησαι τις
εἰπῇ ὅτις εἴη τις τῶν κομικῶν ἐπὶ
τῶν Μεγαλοπόλεων τῶν ἐν Ἀσια-
δίαι.

Ερημία

built Seleucia on the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, *The great city is now become a great desert*. Pliny in like manner (9) affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, so (1) Pausanias (who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ) compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city the

Ερημία μεγάλη εἴη ἡ Μεγάλη-
πολις.

—et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum CCC a Babylone distitam. Nam et ille et posterius omnes huic urbi maximopere studuerunt, et regiam eo transtulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major est, illa magna ex parte deserta, ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus:

Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis.

Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 738. Edit. Paris. p. 1073. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(9) Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id condita a Nicator. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 30. Edit. Harduin.

(1) Βαβυλωνος δὲ ταύτης ἦν τινα εἰδὲ πόλεως τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἦλθος, ὅθεν ἐπὶ νῦν ἔστι μετὰ τῆς. Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. Pausan. Lib. 8. Cap. 33.

(2) Βαβυ-

city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius (2) mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and (3) Lucian intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for and not be found, like Nineveh. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth century after Christ) it was converted into a chace to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the later kings of Persia. We have learned, (4) saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith, (5) that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the inclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished

(2) Βασιλειος κειμενης. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

(3) Ου μετα πολυ και αυτη ζητησομεν, ωσπερ η Νινος. haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus. Lucian. Επισκ. five Contemplantes prope finem.

(4) Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus

egredions, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum; nationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coherceri. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. Cap. 13. p. 111. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(5) — exceptis enim muris costilibus qui propter bestias con-

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(6) Ben
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lished by the Saracens who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be ruined or destroyed by time: but of this we read nothing, neither have we any account of Babylon for several hundred years afterwards, there having been such a dearth of authors during those times of ignorance.

Of later authors the first who mentions any thing concerning Babylon, is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century. In his Itinerary, which was written almost 700 years ago, he asserts, (6) that ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter there on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it. Teixeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, affirms (7) that of this great and famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor

concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur; omne in medio spatium solitudo est. Id. in cap. 14. p. 115.

(6) Benjamin. Itin. p. 76. eoque homines ingredi vetatur, propter serpentes et scorpiones, qui sunt in medio. Bochart Phaleg, Lib. 4. cap. 15. Col. 234. Vitrunga

in Iesaiam. Cap. 13, p. 421. Vol. 1. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter 12. Calmer's Dict. in Babylon.

(7) Cap. 5. Hujus nihil nisi pauca supersunt vestigia: nec in tota regione locus ullus est minus frequens. Bochart ibid. et Prideaux.

(8) Cal-

nor in the whole region is any place less frequented.

A German traveler, whose name was Rauwolf, passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, and his (8) account of the ruins of this famous city is as follows. "The village
" of Elugo now lieth on the place where
" formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of
" Chaldæa, was situated. The harbour is a
" quarter of a league's distance from it, where
" people go ashore in order to proceed by land
" to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is
" a day and a half's journey from thence east-
" ward on the Tigris. This country is so
" dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled,
" and so bare that I could never have believed
" that this powerful city, once the most stately
" and renowned in all the world, and situ-
" ated in the pleasant and fruitful country of
" Shinar, could have ever stood there, if I had
" not known it by its situation, and many an-
" tiquities of great beauty, which are still
" standing hereabout in great desolation. First
" by the old bridge which was laid over the
" Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and
" arches

(8) Calmet's Dict. in Baby Ion, and Prideaux as before, and Ray's edition of these travels in English. Part 2, Chap. 7.

(9) Vid.

(9) Vid. la Valle, Vol. I.

arches still remaining built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable.—Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, tho' demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon.—It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter; but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. There is one fort particularly, which the inhabitants in the language of the country, which is Persian, call *Eglo*, the poison whereof is very searcing: they are larger than our lizards."

A noble Roman, Petrus Vallenfis, (Della Valle) was at Bagdat in the year 1616, and went to see the ruins as they are thought of ancient Babylon; and he informs us (9) that "in the middle of a vast and level plain;

(9) Vid. Viaggi di Pietro Clerici Comment. in Esaïam. da Valle, Part 2. Epist. 17. Chap. 13. ver. 20. Vitring. Vol. I. X Com.

" plain, about a quarter of a league from
 " Euphrates, which in that place runs west
 " ward, appears a heap of ruined buildings
 " like a huge mountain, the materials of which
 " are so confounded together, that one knows
 " not what to make of it. — Its situation and
 " form correspond with that pyramid which
 " Strabo calls the tower of Belus; and is in all
 " likelihood the tower of Nimrod in Babylon
 " or Babel, as that place is still called. — There
 " appear no marks of ruins, without the comparison
 " of that huge mass, to convince one so great
 " city as Babylon had ever stood there: all one
 " discovers within fifty or sixty paces of it
 " being only the remains here and there of
 " some foundations of buildings; and the country
 " try round about it so flat and level, that one
 " can hardly believe it should be chosen for the
 " situation of so great and noble a city as Ba-
 " bylon, or that there were ever any remark-
 " able buildings on it: but for my part I am
 " astonished there appears so much as there
 " does, considering it is at least four thousand
 " years since that city was built, and that Dio-
 " dorus Siculus tells us, it was reduced almost
 " to nothing in his time."

Tavernier

Comment. *ibid.* p. 421. Vol. 7. Chap. 2. Sect. 4. Note N.
 Universal History. Book 1.

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Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveler, relates, (1) that "at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from Bagdat, there is the foundation of a city, which may seem to have been a large league in compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, upon which six coaches may go abreast: They are made of burnt brick, ten foot square, and three thick. The chronicles of the country say here stood the ancient Babylon." Tavernier, no doubt, saw the same ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter della Valle did; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace or of the tower of Babel. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be rather the remains of some tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war: and this in all probability was the truth of the matter.

Mr. (2) Salmon's observation is just and pertinent: "What is as strange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that we cannot learn either by ancient writers or modern travelers, where this famous city stood, only in

(1) Tavernier in Harris. Vol. 1. Present State of the Turkish Empire. Chap. 11.

(2) Salmon's Modern Hist.

“ in general, that it was situated in the pro-
 “ vince of Chaldæa, upon the river Euphrates
 “ considerably above the place where it is
 “ united with the Tigris. Travelers have guessed
 “ from the great ruins they have discovered in
 “ several parts of this country, that in this or
 “ that place Babylon once stood: but when
 “ we come to examin nicely the places they
 “ mention, we only learn that they are cer-
 “ tainly in the wrong, and have mistaken the
 “ ruins of Seleucia, or some other great town.

Mr. (3) Hanway going to give an account of
 the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaceth
 it in this manner. “ Before we enter upon any
 “ circumstance relating to the siege of Bagdat
 “ it may afford some light to the subject, to
 “ give a short account of this famous city, in
 “ the neighbourhood of which formerly stood
 “ the metropolis of one of the most ancient
 “ and most potent monarchies in the world.
 “ The place is generally called Bagdat or Bag-
 “ dad, tho’ some writers preserve the ancient
 “ name of Babylon. The reason of thus con-
 “ founding these two cities is, that the Tigris
 “ and Euphrates, forming one common stream
 “ before they disembogue into the Persian

“ gulf

(3) Hanway's Travels. Vol. 4. Part 3. Chap. 10. p. 78.

(4) Hor

"gulf, are not unfrequently mentioned as one
 "and the same river. It is certain that the
 "present Bagdat is situated on the Tigris, but
 "the ancient Babylon, according to all histo-
 "rians sacred and profane, was on the Eu-
 "phrates. The ruins of the latter, which
 "geographical writers place about fifteen
 "leagues to the south of Bagdat, are now so
 "much effaced, that there are hardly any ves-
 "tiges of them to point out the situation. In
 "the time of the emperor Theodosius, there
 "was only a great park remaining, in which
 "the kings of Persia bred wild beasts for the
 "amusement of hunting."

By these accounts we see, how punctually
 time hath fulfilled the predictions of the pro-
 phets concerning Babylon. When it was con-
 verted into a chase for wild beasts to feed and
 breed there, then were exactly accomplished
 the words of the prophets, that *the wild beasts*
of the desert with the wild beasts of the islands
should dwell there, and cry in their desolate houses.
 One part of the country was overflowed by the
 river's having been turned out of its course and
 never restored again to its former channel,
 and thence became boggy and marshy, so that
 it might literally be said to be *a possession for the*
littern and pools of water. Another part is

described

described as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, so that thereby was also fulfilled another prophecy, which seemed in some measure to contradict the former, *Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.* The place thereabout is represented as overrun with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures, so that *their houses are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their pleasant palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant.* For all these reasons *neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the shepherds make their folds there.* And when we find that modern travelers cannot now certainly discover the spot of ground, whereon this renowned city once was situated, we may very properly say *How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Every purpose of the Lord hath been performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant:* and the expression is no less true than sublime, that *the Lord of hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction.*

How wonderful are such predictions compared with the events, and what a convincing

argu

argument of the truth and divinity of the holy scriptures ! Well might God allege this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the false gods, and their votaries, to produce the like. (Is. XLV. 21. XLVI. 10.) *Who hath declared this from ancient time ? who hath told it from that time ? have not I the Lord ? and there is no God else beside me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me ; Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure. And indeed where can you find a similar instance but in scripture, from the beginning of the world to this day ?*

At the same time it must afford all readers of an exalted taste and generous sentiments, all the friends and lovers of liberty, a very sensible pleasure to hear the prophets exulting over such tyrants and oppressors as the kings of Assyria. In the 14th chapter of Isaiah there is an Epitaphion, or a triumphant ode upon the fall of Babylon. It represents the infernal mansions as moved, and the ghosts of deceased tyrants as rising to meet the king of Babylon, and congratulate his coming among them. It is really admirable for the severest strokes of irony, as well as for the sublimest strains of poetry. The Greek

poet (4) Alcæus, who is celebrated for his hatred to tyrants, and whose odes were animated with the spirit of liberty no less than with the spirit of poetry, we may presume to say, never wrote any thing comparable to it. The late worthy professor of poetry at Oxford hath eminently distinguished it in (5) his lectures upon the sacred poesy of the Hebrews, and hath given it the character that it justly deserves, of one of the most spirited, most sublime, and most perfect compositions of the lyric kind, superior to any of the productions of Greece or Rome: and he hath not only illustrated it with an useful commentary, but hath also copied the beauties of the great original in an excellent Latin Alcaic ode, which if the learned reader hath not yet seen, he will be not a little pleased with the perusal of it. Another excellent hand, Mr. Mason, hath likewise imitated it in an English ode, with which I hope he will (6) one time or other oblige the public.

But not only in this particular, but in the general the scriptures, though often perverted

(4) Hor. Od. II. XIII. 26.

Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcæe, plectro &c.

Quintil. Instit. Orat. Lib. 1.
Cap. 1. Alcæus in parte operis

aureo plectro merito donatur
qua tyrannos insectatur: &c.

(5) Lowth Prælec. XIII. p.
120, &c.—viget per totum
spiritus liber excelsus, verèque
divinus; neque deest quidquam

to the purposes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature calculated to promote the civil as well as the religious liberties of mankind. True religion, and virtue, and liberty are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly consider. It is very true, as St. Paul saith, (2 Cor. III. 17.) that *where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*: or as our Saviour himself expresseth it, (John VIII. 31, 32.) *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free.*

ad summum hujusce Odæ sublimitatem absoluta pulchritudine cumulandam: cui, ut planè dicam quod sentio, nihil habet Græca aut Romana pœsis simile

aut secundum. Prælec. XXVIII. p. 277, &c.

(6) Mr. Mason hath since published this with some other Odes in 1756.

XI. The



XL

The prophecies concerning TYRE.

ANOTHER city that was an enemy to the Jews, and another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy, is Tyre, whose fall was predicted by the prophets, and particularly by Isaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been questioned among learned men, which of the Tyres was the subject of these prophecies, whether Palætyrus or old Tyre that was seated on the continent, or new Tyre that was built in an island almost over against it. The truest and best answer I conceive to be, that the prophecies appertain to both, some expressions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter. In one place (Ezek. XXVII. 3.) it is described as *situate at the entry of the sea*; in others (ver. 4 and 25.) as *in the midst of the seas*, or according to the original *in the heart of the seas*. Sometimes (Ezek. XXVI. 7, &c.) it is represented as besieged *with horses and with chariots*; a fort, a mount, and engines of war, are set against it: at other times (II.

XXIII.

(*) V
667-67

XXIII. 2, 4, 6.) it is expressly called *an island, and the sea, even the strength of the sea*. Now it is said (Ezek. XXVI. 10.) *By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach*. Then it is said (ver. 12.) *They shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses, and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water*; and again (Ezek. XXVIII. 8.) *They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas*. The insular Tyre therefore, as well as the Tyre upon the continent, is included in these prophecies; they are both comprehended under the same name, and both spoken of as one and the same city, part built on the continent, and part on an island adjoining. It is commonly said indeed, that when old Tyre was closely besieged, and was near falling into the hands of the Chaldæans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the island: but the learned (1) Vitranga hath proved at

(1) Vitranga. Comment. in Iesaiam. Cap. 23. Vol. 1. p. 667—671.

(2) Cir-

at large from good authorities, that new Tyre was founded several ages before, and was the station for ships, and considered as part of old Tyre; and (2) Pliny speaking of the compass of the city, reckons both the old and the new together.

Whenever the prophets denounce the downfall and desolation of a city or kingdom, they usually describe by way of contrast its present flourishing condition, to show in a stronger point of view how providence shifteth and changeth the scene, and ordereth and disposeth all events. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel observe the same method with regard to Tyre. Isaiah speaketh of it as a place of great antiquity, (XXIII. 7.) *Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?* And it is mentioned as a strong place as early as in the days of Joshua, (Josh. XIX. 29.) *the strong city Tyre*, for there is no reason for supposing with (3) Sir John Marsham, that the name is used here

(1) Circuitus XIX mill. passuum est, intra Palætyro inclusa. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 17. Edit. Harduin.

(3) Marshami Chron. Sæc. XI. p. 290. Nomen id per prophetam usurpatur, &c.

(4) *Mita de Sidon, magni-*

ση των Φοινικων, και αρχαιοτατη πολις Τυρου εστιν, η πολλοις αυτη κατα τα μεγαλα και κατα την επιφανειαν, και την αρχαιοτητα. Post Sidonem maxima et antiquissima Phœnicum est Tyrus, cum Sidone et magnitudine et forma et anti-

quitate

by way of *prolepsis* or anticipation. Nay there are even heathen authors, who speak of the insular Tyre, and yet extol the great antiquity of the place. The (4) Greek geographer Strabo saith, that after Sidon the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians is Tyre, which is a rival to Sidon in greatness, and lustre, and antiquity. The (5) Roman historian Quintus Curtius saith, that it is a city remarkable to posterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent change of fortune. Herodotus (6) who was himself at Tyre, and inquired into the antiquity of the temple of Hercules, was informed by the priests, that the temple was built at the same time as the city, and from the building of the city they counted two thousand and three hundred years. The ironical expression of the prophet, *Is this your joyous city whose antiquity is of ancient days?* implies that the Tyrians were apt to boast of their antiquity: and by this account of Herodotus it appears that

quite comparanda. Strab. Lib. 16. p. 756. Edit. Paris. p. 1097. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(5) Urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunæ varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(6) εἶπασαν γὰρ, ἅμα Τυρὸν αἰσχροῦ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς

ἰδρυνθῆναι. εἶναι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Τυρὸν οἰκιστοί, τρηκασία καὶ διαχίλια. quippe dicentes ab urbe condita fuisse dei templum pariter extructum: esse autem a Tyro condita annorum duo millia ac trecentos. Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. p. 107. Edit. Gale.

(7) ἀπὸ

that they did so, and much exceeded the truth: but there could have been no pretence for their boasting of thousands of years, if the city had not been built (as some contend) till after the destruction of the old city by the Chaldeans, that is not 130 years before. Josephus (7) asserts, that from the building of Tyre to the building of Solomon's temple were 240 years: but he is with reason (8) supposed to speak of the insular Tyre; for the other part of the city on the continent was much older, was a strong place, as we have seen, in the days of Joshua, and is mentioned in the fragments of (9) Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, who is (1) reckoned to have lived about the time of Gideon, (2) or somewhat later.

But ancient as this city was, it was the daughter of Sidon, as it is called by the prophet Isaiah, (XXIII. 12.) and (ver. 2.) *the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, replenished it.* Sidon was the eldest son of Canaan (Gen. X. 15.) and the city of Sidon is mentioned

(7) ἀπο δὲ τῆς οἰκιστῆς Τυ-
ρῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῆς ναῦς
διεσπένθη χρόνος ἑξήκοντα τεσσα-
ράκοντα καὶ δικοσίων. A Tyri au-
tem conditu usque ad extruc-
tionem templi elapsi sunt anni
quadraginta et ducenti. Jo-
seph. Antiq. Lib. 8. Cap. 3.

Sect. 1. p. 341. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Vide Vitring. ibid. p. 669.

(9) Apud Euseb. Prepar. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 39. Edit. Vigeri.

(1) Itaque commodè rejici-
tur in Gideonis tempora &c.
Rochart.

tioned by the patriarch Jacob, (Gen. XLIX. 13.) and in the days of Joshua it is called *great Sidon*, (Josh. XI. 8.) and in the days of the Judges the inhabitants of Laish are said (Judg. XVIII. 7.) to have *dwell careless and secure after the manner of the Sidonians*. We have seen already that Strabo affirms, that *after Sidon Tyre* was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; and he (3) asserts likewise, that the poets have celebrated Sidon more, and Homer hath not so much as mentioned Tyre, tho' he commends Sidon and the Sidonians in several places. It may be therefore with reason inferred, that Sidon was the more ancient: and (4) Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus, hath expressly informed us, that the Sidonians being besieged by the king of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. But tho' Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter soon equalled, and in time excelled the mother, and became the most celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, the seat of commerce and

Bochart. Chanaan. Lib. 2. Cap. 17. Col. 776.

(2) Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae. B. 1. Chap. 2.

(3) Οἱ μὲν ἐν ποταμῷ, τῇ πόλει τεθρυλλησάντες μάλλον. ὅτι ἐστὶν μάλιστα τῆς Τύρου. Poetae quidem magis Sidonem celebrant, atqui adeo Homerus

Tyri non meminit. Strabo ibid. p. 1097.

(4) Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascalionorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem—condiderunt. Justin. Lib. 18. Cap. 3. Sect. 5. p. 362. Edit. Grævii.

(5) Plu-

and the center of riches, and is therefore called by Isaiah (XXIII. 3, 8.) *a mart of nations, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth*: and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon those words of Isaiah, *a mart of nations*, (Chap. XXVII.) recounts the various nations, whose commodities were brought to Tyre, and were bought and sold by the Tyrians.

It was in this wealthy and flourishing condition, when the prophets foretold its destruction, Isaiah 125 years at least before it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extensive and beneficial trade soon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for these and their other vices, as well as for their insults and injuries done to the Jews, the prophets prophesied against them. Isaiah mentions their pride as the great occasion of their fall, (XXIII. 9.) *The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth*. Ezekiel (XXVII. 3, &c.) describes at large their luxury even in their shipping. Cleopatra's sailing down the river Cydnos to meet her gallant, Antony, was not with greater finery and magnificence

nificence; nor have (5) the historians and poets painted the one in more lively colors, than the prophet hath the other. He censures likewise the pride of the king of Tyre in arrogating to himself divine honors, (XXVIII. 2, &c.) *Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, tho' thou set thine heart as the heart of God:— With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God: Behold therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness: They shall bring thee down to the earth, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas. The prophets*

(5) Plutarch. in Antonio. p. 913. Vol. 1. Edit. Paris 1624.
Shakespear. Dryden.
Vol. I. Y (6) Annales

phets Joel and Amos had before denounced the divine judgments upon the Tyrians for their wickedness in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Israel, and for buying and selling them like cattle in the markets. Thus saith the Lord by the prophet Joel, (III. 5, &c.) *Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things: The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head.* Amos speaketh to the same purpose, (I. 9.) *Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant, that is the league and alliance between Hiram king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The Psalmist reckons them among the most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name and nation, (Psal. LXXXIII. 6, 7.) The tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites, of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal, and Ammon,*

and Amalek, the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre. Ezekiel also begins his prophecy against them with a declaration, that it was occasioned by their insulting over the Jews upon the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, (XXVI. 2, 3.) Son of man, Because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me, I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up.

These were the occasions of the prophecies against Tyre: and by carefully considering and comparing the prophecies together, we shall find the following particulars included in them; that the city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people, and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; that the inhabitants should fly over the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should not find a quiet settlement; that the city should be restored after 70 years, and return to her gain and her merchandise; that it should be taken and destroyed again; that the people should in

time forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God; and finally that the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. We shall find these particulars to be not only distinctly foretold, but likewise exactly fulfilled.

I. The city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people. This, we think, is sufficiently implied in these words of the prophet Isaiah, (XXIII. 13.) *Behold, the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness, they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin. Behold,* an exclamation to show that he is going to utter something new and extraordinary; *the land of the Chaldæans*, that is Babylon and the country about Babylon; *this people was not*, was of no note or eminence, *till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, they dwelt before in tents, and led a wandering life in the wilderness, till the Assyrians built Babylon for their reception. Babel or Babylon was first built by the children of men

after the flood. After the dispersion of mankind, Nimrod made it the capital of his kingdom. With Nimrod it sunk again, till the Assyrians rebuilt it for the purposes here mentioned; *they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof*, and Herodotus, Ctesias, and other ancient historians agree that the kings of Assyria fortified and beautified Babylon; *and he*, that is, *this people* mentioned before, the Chaldæans or Babylonians, *brought it to ruin*, that is Tyre, which is the subject of the whole prophecy. The Assyrians were at that time the great monarchs of the east; the Chaldæans were their slaves and subjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet should so many years beforehand foresee the successes and conquests of the Chaldæans.

Ezekiel lived nearer the time, and he declares expressly that the city should be taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; (XXVI. 7—11.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people;—he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the*

ground. Salmanaſer king of Affyria (6) had beſieged Tyre but without ſucceſs; the Tyrians had with a few ſhips beaten his large fleet; but yet Nebuchadnezzar ſhould prevail. Eze-kiel not only foretold the ſiege, but mentions it afterwards as a paſt tranſaction, (XXIX. 18.) *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled.*

Menander the Ephesian translated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and (7) Joſephus aſſerts upon their authority, that Nebuchadnezzar beſieged Tyre 13 years when Ithobal was king there, and began the ſiege in the ſeventh year of Ithobal's reign, and that he ſubdued Syria and all Phœnicia. The ſame (8) hiſtorian likewiſe obſerves, that Philoſtratus in his Indian and Phœnician hiſtories affirms that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) beſieged Tyre thirteen years, Ithobal reigning at that time in Tyre. The ſiege continuing ſo long, the ſoldiers muſt needs indure many hardſhips,

(6) Annales Menandri apud Joſephum, Antiq. Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Sect. 2. p. 428. Edit. Hudſon,

(7) Joſeph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 20. et 21, Edit. Hudſon,

(8) Φιλοſτράτου ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτῆς καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱſτορίαις, ὅτι ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιλοιρχετο Τυροῦ ἐτη 13, βασιλευσύντη κατ' ἐκείνου τον καιρον Ἰθόβαλς τῆς Τυρῶ. Philoſtratus tam in Indicis ejus quam Phœniciis hiſtoriis, quod hic

hardships, so that hereby we better understand the justness of Ezekiel's expression, that *Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald and every shoulder was peeled*: such light doth profane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals quoted by the same (9) historian, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that some of the blood royal must have been carried captives thither. The Phœnician annals too, as Dr. (1) Prideaux hath clearly shown, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year, wherein the city was taken. Tyre therefore according to the prophecies was subdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans: and after this we hear little more of that part of the city which stood upon the continent. It is some satisfaction that we are able to produce such authorities as we have produced, out of heathen historians for transactions of such remote antiquity.

II. The inhabitants should pass over the Medi-

hic rex tredecim annos Tyrum oppugnaverit, cum illo tempore Ithobalus in Tyro regnaret. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 460. Edit. Hudson.

(9) Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 21. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

(1) Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 2. Anno 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

Y 4

(2) Bo-

Mediterranean into the ilands and countries adjoining, and even there should find no quiet settlement. This is plainly signified by Isaiah, (XXIII. 6.) *Pass ye over to Tarshish*, that is to Tartessus in Spain, *howl ye inhabitants of the ile*: and again (ver. 12.) *Arise, pass over to Chittim*, that is the ilands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean; *there also shalt thou have no rest*. What the prophet delivers by way of advice, is to be understood as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the same thing, (XXVI. 18.) *The iles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure*. It is well known that the Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity, and sent forth colonies into several parts of the world. A great scholar of the last century hath written a whole (2) treatise of the colonies of the Phœnicians, a work (as indeed all his are) of immense learning and erudition. And of all the Phœnicians the Tyrians were the most celebrated for their shipping and colonies.

Tyre

(2) Bocharti Chanaan.

(3) Ἄι δὲ εἰς Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀποικίαι, μέχρι καὶ ἐν σήλων, τὴν Τυρόν πλεον ἐξυμνεῖ μαλλον. Coloniae tamen in Africam et Hispaniam usque ad loca extra columnas deductae, Tyrum plurimum celebra-

verunt. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 1097.

(4) Coloniae certe ejus pene orbe toto diffusae sunt. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

(5) Legimus in historiis Assyriorum, obsessos Tyrios, postquam nullam spem evadendi vide-

Tyre exceeded Sidon in this respect, as (3) Strabo testifies, and sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain unto and beyond the pillars of Hercules: and (4) Quintus Curtius saith, that her colonies were diffused almost over the whole world. The Tyrians therefore having planted colonies at Tarshish and upon the coasts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were pressed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad for refuge and protection. That they really did so, St. Jerome asserts upon the authority of Assyrian histories which are now lost and perished. 'We have read, (5) ' saith he, in the histories of the Assyrians, that ' when the Tyrians were besieged, after they ' saw no hope of escaping, they went on board ' their ships, and fled to Carthage, or to some ' islands of the Ionian and Ægean sea.' And in another place he (6) saith, ' that when ' the Tyrians saw that the works for carrying ' on

vīdebant, consensis navibus fugisse Carthaginem, seu ad alias Ionii Ægeique maris insulas. Hieron. in Is. 23. 6. p. 144. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(6) Quod quum viderent Tyrii jam jamque perfectum, et percussione arietum murorum fundamenta quaterentur, quic-

quid preciosum in auro, argento vestibusque, et varia supellectili nobilitas habuit, impositum navibus ad insulas asportavit; ita ut capta urbe, nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor. Idem in Ezek. Cap. 29. p. 909.

(7) Ar-

DISSERTATIONS ON

‘ on the siege were perfected, and the foundations of the walls were shaken by the battering of the rams, whatsoever precious things in gold silver, clothes, and various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put them on board their ships, and carried to the islands; so that the city being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing worthy of his labor.’ It must have been grievous to Nebuchadnezzar, after so long and laborious a siege, to be disappointed of the spoil of so rich a city; and therefore Ezekiel was commissioned to promise him the conquest of Egypt for his reward; (XXIX. 18, 19.) *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*

But

(7) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. p. 203. Ejustem Hist. Ind. Cap. 5. p. 318. Edit. Gronov. Voss. de Hist.

Græc. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Prid. Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno. 298. Ptolemy Soter. 7.

(8) Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit.

But tho' the Tyrians should pass over to Tarshish and to Chittim, yet even there they should find no quiet settlement, *there also shalt thou have no rest*. Megasthenes, (7) who lived about 300 years before Christ, and was employed by Seleucus Nicator in an embassy to the king of India, wrote afterwards a history of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadnezzar with great honor. This historian is quoted by several ancient authors, and he is cited particularly by (8) Strabo, Josephus, and Abydenus in Eusebius, for saying that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Hercules in bravery and great exploits, that he subdued great part of Africa and Spain, and proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules. After Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Tyre and Egypt, we may suppose that he carried his arms farther westward: and if he proceeded so far as Megasthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be said to *have no rest*, their conqueror pursuing them from one country to another. But besides this and after this, the Carthaginians and other colonies of the Tyrians lived in a very unsettled state. Their history
is

Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. p. 1343. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 460. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri. Contra Apion Lib. 1. Sect. 20.

(9) See

is made up of little but wars and tumults, even before their three fatal wars with the Romans, in every one of which their affairs grew worse and worse. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa, the land and their own element the sea, were theatres of their calamities and miseries; till at last not only the new, but old Carthage too was utterly destroyed. As the Carthaginians sprung from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the first-born of Canaan (Gen. X. 15.): so the curse upon Canaan seemeth to have pursued them to the most distant parts of the earth.

III. The city should be restored after 70 years, and return to her gain and her merchandise. This circumstance is expressly foretold by Isaiah, (XXIII. 15, 16, 17.) *And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king, or kingdom, meaning the Babylonian which was to continue 70 years: after the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayst be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall*

shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. Tyre is represented as a harlot, and from thence these figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that she should lie neglected of traders and merchants for 70 years, as long as the Babylonian empire lasted, and after that she should recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in several of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was famous above all places in the world.

Seventy years was the time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire. So long the nations were to groan under that tyrannical yoke, though these nations were subdued some sooner, some later than others. (Jer. XXV.

11, 12.) *These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations.* And accordingly at the end of seventy years Cyrus and the Persians subverted the Babylonian empire, and restored the conquered nations to their liberties.

But

But we may compute these 70 years after another manner. Tyre was (9) taken by Nebuchadnezzar in the 32d year of his reign, and in the year 573 before Christ. Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year 503 before Christ, and the 19th of Darius Hystaspis. At that time it appears from (1) history that the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleets: and consequently it is reasonable to conclude that they were now restored to their former privileges. In the succeeding reign we find (2) that they together with the Sidonians furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Tyrians were grown to such power and greatness, that they stopped the progress of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Persian empire besides. But all this is to be understood of the insular Tyre; for as the old city flourished most before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, so the new city flourished most afterwards, and this is the Tyre that henceforth is so much celebrated in history.

IV. The city should be taken and destroyed again.

(9) See Prideaux Connect.
Part 1. Book 2. and Book 4.

(1) Herod. Lib. 5. Cap. 108.
&c. p. 330. Edit. Gale.

(2) Herod.

again. For when it is said by the prophets, (Is. XXIII. 6.) *Howl ye inhabitants of the ile;* (Ezek. XXVII. 32.) *What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?* (XXVIII. 8.) *They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas:* these expressions can imply no less than that the insular Tyre should be destroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, so was the other by Alexander the great. But the same thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, (Zech. I. 1. VII. 1.) probably Darius Hystaspis, many years after the former destruction of the city, and consequently he must be understood to speak of this latter. His words are these, (IX. 3, 4.) *And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.* It is very true that Tyrus did build herself a strong hold; for her situation was very strong in an island, and be-

fides

(2) Herod. Lib. 7. Cap. 89. Sic. Lib. 11. p. 244. Edit. Steph.
 &c. p. 412. Edit. Gale. Diod. p. 3. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(3) Arrian.

sides the sea to defend her she was (3) fortified with a wall of 150 feet in highth, and of a proportionable thicknefs. *She heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets,* being the most celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, *the mart of nations* as she is called, conveying the commodities of the east to the west, and of the west to the east. But yet *Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.* Ezekiel had likewise foretold that the city should be consumed with fire, (XXVIII. 18.) *I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee.* And accordingly Alexander besieged, and took, and (4) fet the city on fire. The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for (5) with the stones and timber and rubbish

(3) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. p. 96. Edit. Gronov. — το τε ὑψος εἰς πεντηκόντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας, καὶ εἰς πλάτος ξυμμίτρον. — CL admodum pedes altus, latitudine altitudini respondente.

(4) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4.

Cap. 4. — ignemque tectis injici jubet.

(5) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 583. Edit. Steph. p. 519. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(6) — τικνα μὲν καὶ γυναικας καὶ τὰς γενηρακότας εἰς Καρχηδόνα διακομίζουσιν ἐλθούσας, liberos

rubbish of the old city Alexander built a bank or causey from the continent to the island, thereby literally fulfilling the words of the prophet Ezekiel, (XXVI. 12.) *They shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water.* He was seven months in completing this work, but the time and labor were well employed, for by means hereof he was enabled to storm and take the city.

As in the former siege the inhabitants according to the prophecies fled over the Mediterranean to the islands and countries adjoining, so they did likewise in this latter siege; for (6) Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius both testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place the (7) Sidonians secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped, for of those who remained behind, the (8) conqueror slew eight thousand in the storming and taking of the city, he

liberos et uxores cum senio
confectis Carthaginem trans-
portare decernunt. τὴν δὲ τῶν
πενην καὶ γυναίκων μερὶς μὲν
ἐφθάσαν ὑπεκθήμενοι πρὸς τὰς Καρ-
θηδονίας. tandem deponenda qua-
dam apud Carthaginienses li-
berorum et uxorum parte (hof-
tem) anteverunt. Diod. Sic.

Vol. I.

Lib. 17. ibid. Conjuges liberos-
que devehendos Carthaginem
tradiderunt. Quint. Curt. Lib.
4. Cap. 3.
(7) Quint. Curt. Lib. 4.
Cap. 4.
(8) Arrian. Lib. 2. Cap. 24.
p. 100. Edit. Gronov. Quintus
Curtius ibid.

Z

(9) Diod.

he caused two thousand afterwards cruelly to be crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for slaves. They had before sold some of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, (III. 6, 7, 8.) *The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold; Behold I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and your daughters.* This is the main of the prophecy, that as they had sold the captive Jews, so they should be sold themselves: and having seen this so punctually fulfilled, we may more easily believe that the other parts were so too, though at this distance of time, and in this scarcity of ancient historians, we are not able to prove all the particulars. When the city was taken before, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; and now (9) their king held his crown by Alexander's appointment. The cases are parallel in many respects: but the city recovered much sooner from the calamities of this siege than from the fatal consequences of the former. For in (1) nineteen years time it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and sustained a siege of

(9) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 587. Edit. Steph. p. 524. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. 775 μιν
 Τυρίων ἀφ' ἑλίας καλεῖται βασιλεὺς
 τὸν οὐνομαζόμενον Βαλλάνουμον. Ty-
 riorum urbi regem praefecit
 cui

of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof, as Dr. Prideaux observes; of "the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and the west did then center, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristin vigor."

V. It is usual with God to temper his judgments with mercy: and amidst these calamities it is also foretold, that there should come a time, when the Tyrians would forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God. The Psalmist is thought to have hinted as much, in saying (XLV. 12.) *The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift*, and again (LXXII. 10.) *The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents*. Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations should suffer from Alexander, (IX. 1—7:) at the same time predicts their conversion to the true God; *but he that remaineth, even he shall be for our God*. But nothing can be plainer than Isaiah's declaration that they should consecrate the gains of their merchandise for the main-

cui Ballonymo nomen.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 704. Edit. Steph. p. 703. Tom.

2. Edit. Rhod. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 8. Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

Z 2

(2) Vitring.

maintenance of those who minister to the Lord in holy things. (XXIII. 18.) *And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured, nor laid up: for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.* Here particularly we must be much obliged to the learned (2) Vitringa, who hath fully shown the completion of this article; as indeed every one who would rightly understand the prophet Isaiah, must be greatly obliged to that excellent commentator, and will receive more light and assistance from him than from all besides him.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worship of Hercules as he was called by the Greeks, or of Baal as he is denominated in scripture. But in process of time, by the means of some Jews and proselytes living and conversing among them, some of them also became proselytes to the Jewish religion; so that *a great multitude of people from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon came to hear our Saviour (Luke VI. 17.) and to be healed of their diseases: and our Saviour, who was sent only to the lost sheep of the*

(2) Vitring. Comment. in p. 704.
Isaiaam. Cap. 23. Vol. 1.

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib.

the house of Israel, yet came into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; (Matt. XV. 21, &c. Mark VII. 24, &c.) and the first fruits of the gospel there was a Tyrian woman, a woman of Canaan, as she is called, a Syro-phœnician by nation. When St. Paul in his way to Jerusalem came to Tyre, he found disciples there, who were inspired by the holy Ghost and prophesied, (Acts XXI. 4.) and with them he tarried seven days. The Tyrians were such sincere converts to Christianity, that in the time of Diocletian's persecution they exhibited several glorious examples of confessors and martyrs, as (3) Eusebius himself saw, and hath amply testified in his book of the martyrs of Palestine. Afterwards when the storm of persecution was blown over, the Tyrians under their bishop Paulinus built an oratory or rather a temple for the public worship of God, the most magnificent and sumptuous in all Palestine and Phœnicia, which temple (4) Eusebius hath described, and celebrated in a handsome panegyric, whereof he hath inserted a copy in his history, but modestly concealed the name of the author. Eusebius therefore commenting upon this passage of Isaiah, might

very

8. Cap. 7. De Martyr. Palæstina. Cap. 5. et 7.

(4) Euseb. Hist. Lib. 10. Cap. 4.

very well (5) say that 'it is fulfilled in our time.
' For since a church of God hath been founded
' in Tyre as well as in other nations, many of
' its goods gotten by merchandise are consecrat-
' ed to the Lord, being offered to his church;' as he afterwards explains himself, 'for the use
' of the ministers of the altar or gospel, accord-
' ing to the institution of our Lord, that they
' who wait at the altar should live of the altar.' In like manner (6) St. Jerome: 'We may behold
' churches in Tyre built to Christ; we may
' see their riches that they are not laid up, nor
' treasured, but given to those who dwell be-
' fore the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed,
' that they who preach the gospel should live
' of the gospel.' And how liberally and mun-
nificently the bishops and clergy were at that
time maintained, how plentifully they were
furnished with every thing, *to eat sufficiently,*
and for durable clothing, no man can want to
be informed, who is ever so little conversant
in ecclesiastical history. To these proofs we
will only add, that as Tyre consecrated its
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(5) 'Ο δὲ καὶ πληρεταὶ καὶ
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. quod nostro tem-
pore impletum videmus. Nam
cum ecclesia Dei in urbe Tyro
perinde ac in reliquis gentibus
fundata sit, multæ ex ejus mer-
cibus negotiatione partis Domi-

no consecrantur, ecclesiæ ejus
oblata: videlicet ut mox expo-
nit, in usum ministrorum altaris
sive evangelii, secundum insti-
tutum Domini, ut ministri alta-
ris ex eo vivant.

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merchandise and hire unto the Lord, so it had the (7) honor of being erected into an archbishopric, and the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having fourteen bishops under its primacy; and in this state it continued several years.

VI. But after all the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the destruction of a city or country, it was not intended that such denunciation should take effect immediately. The sentence of condemnation (as I may say) was then passed upon it, but the execution might be respited for some time. When it was threatened that Babylon should become a desolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till at last it came to nothing; and now the place is so little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midst of Babylon. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and desolated all at once. Other things were to happen

(6) Cernamus in Tyro extructas Christi ecclesias, consideremus opes omnium, quod non reponantur, nec thesaurizentur, sed dentur his qui habitant coram Domino.—Sic enim et Dominus constituit, ut

qui evangelium prædicant, vivant de evangelio. Hieron. in Is. Cap. 23. p. 146. Vol. 3. Edict. Benedict.

(7) Sandys's travels. B. 3. p. 168. 6th Edit. 1670. Hoffman's Lexicon. &c.

(8) Po-

happen first. It was to be restored after 70 years; it was to be destroyed and restored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. These events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accomplished: (XXVI. 3, 4, 5.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up: And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers; I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock: It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.* He repeats it to show the certainty of it, (ver. 14.) *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God:* and again (ver. 21.) *I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; tho' thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.*

These prophecies, like most others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have seen, destroyed the old city; and Alexander employed the ruins and

(8) Pococke's Descript. of the East. Vol. 2. B. 1. Chap. 20. p. 81, 82.

(9) Ockley's

and rubbish in making his causey from the continent to the island, which henceforwards were joined together. "It is no wonder therefore," as Bishop (8) Pococke observes, "that there are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is almost buried in the sand." So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled, *Thou shalt be built no more; thou shalt be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again.* It may be questioned whether the new city ever after that arose to that highth of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Ifaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the (9) Saracens

(9) Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 340.

(1) Abul-

Saracens about the year of Christ 639 in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the (1) Christians during the time of the holy war in the year 1124, Baldwin the second of that name being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians it was (2) taken again in the year 1289 by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and rased this and Sidon and other strong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamalucs it was (3) again taken in the year 1516 by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! For from being the center of trade, frequented by all the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become a heap of ruins, visited only by the boats of a few poor fishermen. So that as to this part likewise of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled,

(1) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 250. Vers. Pocockii. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycart. Vol. 1. p. 26.

(2) Savage's Abridgment. Vol. 1. p. 95. Pocock. Descript. of the East. Vol. 2. B. 1. Chap. 20. p. 83.

(3) Savage's Abridgment. Vol. 1. p. 241.

(4) Hadrianum Parvillerium, e societate Jesu, virum candidissimum et Arabice doctissimum, qui decem in annos in Syria egit, memini me audire aliquando cum diceret, sibi olim ad

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filled, *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon.*

The famous (4) Huetius knew one Hadrianus Parvillerius, a Jesuit, a very candid man, and a master of Arabic, who resided ten years in Syria; and he remembers to have heard him sometimes say, that when he approached the ruins of Tyre, and beheld the rocks stretched forth to the sea, and the great stones scattered up and down on the shore, made clean and smooth by the sun and waves and winds, and useful only for the drying of fishermen's nets, many of which happened at that time to be spread thereon, it brought to his memory this prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Tyre; (XXVI. 5, 14.) *I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God.*

Dr. (5) Shaw in his account of Tyre thus expresseth himself, "I visited several creeks and
" inlets

ad collapsas Tyri ruinas accedenti, et rupes mari prætentas, ac disiectos passim in littore lapides procul spectanti, sole, fluctibus, et auris deterfos ac levigatos, et siccandis solum piscatorum retibus, quæ tum forte plurima desuper expansa erant, utiles, venisse in memo-

riam hujus prophetiæ Ezekielis de Tyro (XXVI. 5, 14.) *Dabo te in limpidissimam petram: siccatio sagenarum eris, nec ædificabis ultra, quia ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus.* Huetii Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. 6. ad finem.

(5) Shaw's Travels. p. 330.

(6) Maun-

“ inlets in order to discover what provision
 “ there might have been formerly made for
 “ the security of their vessels. Yet notwith-
 “ standing that Tyre was the chief maritime
 “ power of this country, I could not observe
 “ the least token of either *cotbon* or harbour
 “ that could have been of any extraordinary
 “ capacity. The coasting ships indeed, still
 “ find a tolerable good shelter from the nor-
 “ thern winds under the southern shore, but
 “ were obliged immediately to retire, when the
 “ winds change to the west or south: so that
 “ there must have been some better station
 “ than this for their security and reception. In
 “ the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we
 “ see the traces of a safe and commodious
 “ bason, lying within the walls: but which at
 “ the same time is very small, scarce forty
 “ yards in diameter. Neither could it ever
 “ have enjoyed a larger area, unless the build-
 “ ings, which now circumscribe it, were en-
 “ croachments upon its original dimensions.
 “ Yet even this port, small as it is at present,
 “ is notwithstanding so choaked up with sand
 “ and rubbish, that the boats of those poor
 “ fishermen, who now and then visit this once
 “ renowned emporium, can with great diffi-
 “ culty only be admitted.”

But

But the fullest for our purpose is Mr. Maundrell, whom it is a pleasure to quote as well as to read, and whose journal of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, though a little book, is yet worth a folio, being so accurately and ingeniously written, that it might serve as a model for all writers of travels. "This city, (6) "faith he, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, "promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find "no similitude of that glory, for which it was "so renowned in ancient times, and which "the prophet Ezekiel describes Chap. 26, 27, "28. On the north side it has an old Turkish "ungarrison'd castle; besides which you see "nothing here, but a meer Babel of broken "walls, pillars, vaults &c, there being not so "much as one entire house left: its present "inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be "preserved in this place by divine providence, "as a visible argument, how God has fulfilled "his word concerning Tyre, viz. that *it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.*"

Such

{6) Maundrell, p. 48, 49. 5th Edit.

(1) Hom.

Such hath been the fate of this city, once the most famous in the world for trade and commerce. But trade is a fluctuating thing: it passed from Tyre to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Amsterdam and London, the English rivalling the Dutch, as the French are now rivalling both. All nations almost are wisely applying themselves to trade; and it behoves those who are in possession of it, to take the greatest care that they do not lose it. It is a plant of tender growth, and requires sun, and soil, and fine seasons, to make it thrive and flourish. It will not grow like the palm tree, which with the more weight and pressure rises the more. Liberty is a friend to that, as that is a friend to liberty. But the greatest enemy to both is licentiousness, which tramples upon all law and lawful authority, encourages riots and tumults, promotes drunkenness and debauchery, sticks at nothing to supply its extravagance, practises every art of illicit gain, ruins credit, ruins trade, and will in the end ruin liberty itself. Neither kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private persons, can long carry on a beneficial flourishing trade without virtue, and what virtue teacheth, sobriety, industry, frugality, modesty, honesty, punctuality,

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punctuality, humanity, charity, the love of our country, and the fear of God. The prophets will inform us how the Tyrians lost it; and the like causes will always produce the like effects. (Is. XXIII. 8, 9.) *Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth? The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth. (Ezek. XXVII. 3, 4.) Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. (XXVIII. 5, &c.) By thy great wisdom, and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned; therefore will I cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more.*

XII. The



XII.

The prophecies concerning EGYPT.

EGYPT is one of the first and most famous countries that we read of in history. In the Hebrew scriptures it is called *Mizraim* and *the land of Ham*, having been first inhabited after the deluge by Noah's youngest son *Ham* or *Hammon*, and by his son *Mizraim*. The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river was so called in (1) Homer's time; and from thence, as Hesychius imagins, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive that the meaning of the name (2) *Ægyptus* is *αια* Cuphti, *the land of Cuphti*, as it was formerly called by the Egyptians themselves and their neighbours the Arabians. All agree in this, that the kingdom of Egypt was very ancient; but some have carried this antiquity to

(1) Hom. Odyf. XIV. 257,
258.

Πεντὰς δ' Αἰγυπτον ὑγῖνον
ἰκόμεθα.

Στῆσα δ' ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ πλοῖα μιν

πᾶς ἀμφηλίσσας.

Quinto-die autem ad Ægyptum
pulcrè-fluentem venimus:

Statui vero in Ægypto fluviona-
vis remis utrinque-agitatas.

He-

to an extravagant and fabulous highth, their dynasties being utterly irreconcilable to reason and history both, and no ways to be solved or credited but by supposing that they extend beyond the deluge, and that they contain the catalogues of several contemporary, as well as of some successive kings and kingdoms. It is certain, that in the days of Joseph, if not before those in the days of Abraham, it was a great and flourishing kingdom. There are monuments of its greatness yet remaining to the surprise and astonishment of all posterity, of which as we know not the time of their erection, so in all probability we shall never know the time of their destruction.

This country was also celebrated for its wisdom, no less than for its antiquity. It was, as I may call it, the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and sages of Greece and other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses (Acts VII. 22.) that he *was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*:
and

Hesychius: Αἰγυπτὸς, ὁ Νεῖ- appellata est Ægyptus.
 λὸς ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ἡ χώρα (2) Mede's Works B. 1.
 ἀπο τῶν νεώτερον Αἰγυπτὸς ἐκλήθη. Disc. 50. p. 281. Hoffmanni
 Ægyptus, Nilus fluvius; a Lexicon &c.
 quo ipsa regio recentioribus

and the highest character given of Solomon's wisdom (1 Kings IV. 30.) is that it *excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt*. But with this wisdom, and this greatness, it was early corrupted; and was as much the parent of superstition, as it was the mistress of learning; and the one as well as the other were from thence propagated and diffused over other countries. It was indeed the grand corruptor of the world, the source of polytheism and idolatry to several of the eastern, and to most of the more western nations; and degenerated at last to such monstrous and beastly worship, that we shall scarcely find a parallel in all history.

However this was the country, where the children of Israel were in a manner born and bred; and it must be said they were much perverted by their education, and retained a fondness for the idols of Egypt ever afterwards. Several of Moses's laws and institutions were plainly calculated to wean them from, and to guard them against the manners and customs of the Egyptians. But still in their hearts and affections they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married his wife from thence. And upon all occasions they courted the friendship and alliance of Egypt rather than of
any

any of the neighbouring powers. Which prejudice of theirs was the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them very injuriously. They oppressed them with most cruel servitude in Egypt. They gave them leave to depart, and then pursued them as fugitives. Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, (1 Kings XIV. 25, 26.) and plundered it. And in all their leagues and alliances Egypt was to them as *a broken reed*, (Is. XXXVI. 6.) *whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it*. Upon all these accounts we might reasonably expect that Egypt would be the subject of several prophecies, and we shall not be deceived in our expectation.

It is remarkable, that the prophecies uttered against any city or country, often carry the inscription of *the burden* of that city or country. The prophecies against Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre were inscribed (Nahum I. 1.) *the burden of Nineveh*, (Is. XIII. 1.) *the burden of Babylon*, and (Is. XXIII. 1.) *the burden of Tyre*: and so here likewise (Is. XIX. 1.) the prophecies against Egypt have the title of *the burden of Egypt*. And by *burden* is commonly understood a threatening burdensome prophecy, big with ruin and destruction, which like a dead weight

is hung upon a city or country, to sink it. But the word in the original is of more general import and signification. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy at large: as the prophecies of Habakuk and Malachi are entitled *the burden which Habakuk the prophet did see*, and *the burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi*: and it is rendered a *vision* or *prophecy* in the Septuagint and other ancient versions. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy of good as well as of evil: as it was said of the false prophets who prophesied peace when there was no peace, (Lament. II. 14.) *Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, they have seen for thee false burdens*; and Zechariah's prophecy of the restoration and triumphs of the Jews in the latter days is entitled (Zech. XII. 1.) *the burden of the word of the Lord for Israel*. Sometimes it is translated *a prophecy*, where there is no prophecy, but only some grave moral sayings or sentences, as (Prov. XXX. 1.) *the words of Agur the son of Jakeb, even the prophecy*; and again (Prov. XXXI. 1.) *the words of king Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him*. We may farther observe that the word is used of the author of the prophecy, as well as of the subject of it; and there is *the burden of the Lord*, and *the burden of the word of the Lord*, as well as *the*

burden of Babylon, and the burden of Egypt. We may be certain too, that this title was affixed to the prophecies by the prophets themselves, and not by the scribes who collected their writings afterwards, because it appears from Jeremiah (XXIII. 33, &c.) that the scoffers and infidels of his time made a jest and derision of it; and therefore they are forbidden to mention it any more as being a term of ambiguous signification; and instead of inquiring *what is the burden of the Lord*, they are commanded to say *what hath the Lord answered? and what hath the Lord spoken?* The (3) word in the original is derived from a verb that signifies to take up, to lift up, to bring forth, and the like; and the proper meaning of it is any weighty important matter or sentence, which ought not to lie neglected, but is worthy of being carried in the memory, and deserves to be lifted up and uttered with emphasis. Such, eminently such are all these prophecies, and those relating to Egypt as well as the rest. For they comprise the principal revolutions of that kingdom from the times of the prophets to this day.

I. The first great revolution, that we shall mention, was the conquest of this kingdom by

(3) טָלוּט a טָלוּט Talit, Attulit, Protulit, &c. Buxtorf.

A a 3

(4) זָז

by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These two prophets have both employed several sections or chapters upon this occasion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, and there foretold (Chap. XLIII.) the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and some of his prophecies are entitled (XLVI. 13.) *The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt.* Ezekiel also declares, (XXX. 10, 11.) *Thus saith the Lord God, I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations shall be brought to destroy the land; and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain:* and the conquest of this kingdom was promised to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his services against Tyre, which after a long siege he took and destroyed, but was disappointed of the spoil, as was observed in the foregoing dissertation; (Ezek. XXIX.

18,

(4) καταρριψασθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺν pud Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10.
 φησι Διόνης τὴν πολλήν. eum Cap. 11. Sect. 1. Edit. Hud-
 enim vastasse dicit magnam son. αἰσθημένοι δὲ μετ' ἑωλυν
 Libyæ partem. Megasthenes α- χροῖον τὴν τε παρὰ τελευ-

18, 19.) *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army.*

Now for this early transaction we have the (4) testimonies of Megasthenes and Berosus, two heathen historians, who lived about 300 years before Christ, one of whom affirms expressly that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of Africa, and the other affirms it in effect, in saying that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took in Egypt to the care of some of his friends to bring them after him, he hastened directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus have recorded this trans-

την Ναβουχοδονοσορος, και κατακτησας
τα καλα την Αιγυπτον παρασκευα. κ.
τ. λ. Nabuchodonosorus vero,
non multo post patris morte

cognita, rebusque in Ægypto
ordinatis &c. Berosus ibid. Vid.
etiam Eusebii. Præp. Evangel.
Lib. 9. Cap. 40 et 41.

A a 4

(5) Quod

transaction, what (5) Scaliger said of one of them may be very justly applied to both, that those Egyptian priests, who informed them of the Egyptian affairs, taught them only those things which made for the honor of their nation; other particulars of their idleness, servitude, and the tribute which they paid to the Chaldæans, they concealed. Josephus, we may presume, had good authorities, and was supported by earlier historians, when he (6) asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Cœle-Syria, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, and slew the king who then reigned, and appointed another.

It is indeed most highly probable, that Apries was dethroned, and Amasis constituted king by Nebuchadnezzar; and I think we may infer as much from Herodotus himself. The name of the king of Egypt at that time according

(5) Quod perspicuè indicatur Jeremiæ, id Herodotus ignoravit: quia sacerdotes illi Ægyptii, qui ei sciscitanti de rebus Ægyptiacis respondebant, ea, quæ ad laudem gentis faciebant, tantum docuerunt; cætera quæ ad illorum ignaviam, servitutem et tributa, quæ Chaldæis pendebant, tacuerunt. Scalig. in Fragm. p. 11.

(6) ——— γρατεύει ὁ αὐτὸς [Ναβουχοδονοσορ] ἐπὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ κατασχών αὐτήν, ἐπολέμησε καὶ Ἀμμωνίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας. ποινισάμενθ' δὲ ὑπέκκοξε τὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστρέφουσι αὐτήν. καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλεῖα κτείνει. καταστῆσας δὲ ἕτερον. κ. τ. λ. ——— exercitum ipse eduxit in Cœlen-Syriam; eaque occupata

according to Jeremiah was *Pharaoh-Hophra*, and he can be none other than the *Apries* of Herodotus. Ezekiel represents him as an arrogant impious prince, (XXIX. 3.) as *the great dragon or crocodile that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself:* and agreeably hereto (7) Herodotus informs us, that Apries proudly and wickedly boasted of having established his kingdom so surely, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of it. However Jeremiah foretold, that he should be taken and slain by his enemies, (XLIV. 30.) *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life:* and accordingly

Apries

et Ammanitis et Moabitis bellum intulit. Iſtis autem gentibus in poteſtatem ſuam reductis, impetum fecit in Ægyptum, ut ipſam debellaret, ac regem quidem, qui tunc regnabat, occidit; alio vero conſtituto &c. Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. p. 454. Edit. Hudſon.

(7) Ἀπρίων δὲ Ἀγυψίου βασιλεὺς ἦν

ἡ δαίμων, μηδ' αὖθις μὴ δυνασθαι παύσαι τῆς βασιλείης· ὥτω ἀσφαλεως αὐτῷ ἰδρυθαι εἶδομαι. Fertur Apries ea fuiffe perſuaſione, ne deum quidem ullum poſſe ſibi adimere regnum: adeo videbatur ſibi illud ſtabiliffe. Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169. p. 155. Edit. Gale.

(8) Herod.

(8) Apries was taken and strangled by Amasis, who was by Nebuchadnezzar constituted king in his room.

Ezekiel foretold, that the country should be desolated forty years, and the people carried captive into other countries; (XXIX. 12). *I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste, shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them thro' the countries.* We cannot prove indeed from heathen authors, that this desolation of the country continued exactly forty years, though it is likely enough that this, as well as the other conquered countries, did not shake off the Babylonian yoke till the time of Cyrus: but we are assured by (9) Berosus, that Nebuchadnezzar took several captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from (1) Megasthenes we learn, that he transplanted and settled others in Pontus. So true it is, that they were *scattered among the nations, and dispersed thro' the countries*, and might upon the dissolution of the Babylonian

(8) Herod. *ibid.* Diodorus Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit. Hudson. και της αιχμαλωτις — των κατε την

(9) Berosus apud Josephum Αιγυπτίων εθνών, συνταξας τισι των

Babylonian empire return to their native country.

II. Not long after this was another memorable revolution, and the country was invaded and subdued by Cambyfes and the Perfians, which is the main subject of the 19th chapter of Ifaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a near affinity with thofe of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and St. Jerome and others apply it to Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy, as well as feveral others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both thofe periods. For this prophecy of Ifaiah is a general representation of the calamities of the nation; it includes various particulars; it is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyfes and the Perfians. They might therefore be both intended and comprehended in it: but the latter, I conceive, were principally intended, and for this reason; becaufe the deliverance of the Egyptians by fome great conqueror, and their converfion afterwards to the true religion,

which

των φιλων—ανακομιζεν εις την
Βαβυλωνιαν—

(1) ——— αποδασμον αυτων
εις τα δεξια του Ποντου κατοικισαι.

colonias in dextram Ponti pla-
gam deportasse. Megasthenes
apud Eusebium. ibid. Cap. 41.
p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

I

(2) Poly-

which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events consequent to the dominion of the Persians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

The prophet begins with declaring that the conquest of Egypt should be swift and sudden, and that the idols of Egypt should be destroyed; (ver. 1.) *Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it.* The same thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by Jeremiah, (XLIII. 11, &c.) *And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt—And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives—He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire:* and again by Ezekiel, (XXX. 13.) *Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph, or Memphis.* We are not furnished with ancient authors sufficient to prove these particulars

(2) Polyæni Stratagem. Lib. 7. Cap. 9. p. 620. Edit. Maafvicii.

(3) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 27,

&c. p. 172. Sect. 37 &c. p. 176. Edit. Gale. Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 805. Edit. Paris. p. 1158. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib.

particulars (however probable) in the history of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; but we have ample proofs with relation to Cambyfes and the Perfians. The first attempt made by Cambyfes was upon (2) Pelufium, a strong town at the entrance of Egypt, and the key of the kingdom; and he fucceeded by the stratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, fheep, cats, and other animals, which being held facred by the Egyptians, not one of them would caft a javelin, or fhoot an arrow that way; and fo the town was ftormed and taken in a manner without refiftance. He (3) treated the gods of Egypt with marvelous contempt, laughed at the people, and chaftifed the priefts for worshipping fuch deities. He flew Apis, or the facred ox which the Egyptians worfhipped, with his own hand; and burnt and demolifhed their other idols and temples; and would likewife, if he had not been prevented, have deftroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Hammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Perfia, and fubdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, (4) plundered their temples,

Lib. 1. Cap. 9. p. 29. Edit. Grævii. 2. Edit. Rhod. Plutarch. de Ifid. et Ofir. p. 355. Edit. Paris.

(4) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 1624. 537. Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom.

(5) Herod.

temples, and caused Apis to be slain and served up in a banquet to him and his friends.

The prophet foretels, that they should also be miserably distracted with civil wars; (ver. 2.) *And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom; νομος επι νομον*, as the Seventy translate it, province against province, Egypt being divided into νομοι, prefectures or provinces. Vitranga and others apply this to the time of the (5) δωδεκαρχια or the reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that preceded, and the civil wars that ensued, wherein the genius and fortune of Psammitichus prevailed over the rest. But it may perhaps be more properly applied to what agrees better in point of time with other parts of the prophecy, (6) the civil wars between Apries and Amasis at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and the (7) civil wars between Tachos, Nectanebus, and the Mendefian, a little before the country was finally subdued by Ochus.

It

(5) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 147
—154. p. 146—150. Edit.
Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 41.
&c. Edit. Steph. p. 59, &c.
Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(6) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 169.
p. 155. Edit. Gale. Diod. Sic.
Lib. 1. p. 43. Edit. Steph. p.
62. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod.

(7) Plu-

It is no wonder, that in such distractions and distresses as these, the Egyptians being naturally a cowardly people, should be destitute of counsel, and that *the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof*, as the prophet foretels; (ver. 3.) and that being also a very superstitious people, *they should seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards*. But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be subdued and oppressed by cruel lords and tyrants; (ver. 4.) *And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts*. This is the most essential part of the prophecy; and this Grotius and others understand of Psammitichus: but it doth not appear from history, that Psammitichus was such a *fierce* and *cruel* tyrant; on the contrary he (8) reestablished the government, and reigned long and prosperously for Egypt in many respects. It may with greater truth and propriety be understood of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, whose dominion was very grievous to the conquered nations:

(7) Plutarch. in Agefilao. — 157. p. 150, 151. Edit. Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. 506. Gale. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 42. Edit. Steph. p. 399. &c. Tom. 1. Edit. Steph. p. 60. Tom. 1. Edit. Rhod. Vide etiam Marsham Chron. Sac. 17. p. 505.

(8) Herod. Lib. 2. Sect. 153. (9) Prid.

nations: but with the greatest propriety and justice it may be applied to the Persians, and especially to Cambyfes and Ochus; one of whom put the yoke upon the neck of the Egyptians, and the other rivetted it there; and who are both branded in history for cruel tyrants and monsters of men. The Egyptians said that Cambyfes, after his killing of Apis, was stricken with madness; but his actions, saith (9) Dr. Prideaux after Herodotus, showed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed those great exploits, if he had been a downright madman: and yet it is certain that he was very much like one; there was a mixture of barbarity and madness in all his behaviour. Ochus was the cruellest and worst of all the kings of Persia, and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favorite eunuch (1) Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poisoned him. The favors shown to himself could not compensate for the wrongs done to his country. None other allegation is wanting to prove, that the Persian yoke was galling and intolerable

(9) Prid. Connect. Part 1. (ὡς λεγούσι Αἰγυπτιοὶ) δια τὰ
 B. 3. Anno 525. Cambyfes 5. το το ἀδικημα αυτικα εμανη,
 Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 30. p. ενν υδε προτερον φρενης. Ob
 173. Edit. Gale. Καμβύσης δε hoc scelus (ut Ægyptii aiunt)
 continuo

intolerable to the Egyptians, than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which served still but to augment their misery, and inflave them more and more.

The prophet then proceeds to set forth in figurative language (ver. 5—10.) the consequences of this subjection and slavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confusion and misery, which should be intailed on them and their posterity: and afterwards he recounts (ver. 11—17.) the immediate causes of these evils, the folly of the princes and rulers who valued themselves upon their wisdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. These things will plainly appear to any one by perusing the history of the nation, but it would carry us beyond all bounds to prove them by an induction of particulars. In general it may be said, that Egypt would not have become a prey to so many foreign enemies, but thro' the excessive weakness of the Egyptians both in counsel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themselves. They trusted chiefly to their Grecian

continuo Cambyfes infaniit; 564. Edit. Steph. p. 490. Tom.
quum ne prius quidem compos 2. Edit. Rhod. Æliani Var.
mentis fuisset. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

(1) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p.

VOL. I.

B b

(2) Diod.

and other mercenaries, who instead of defending, were often the first to betray them.

III. The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the great, who subverted the Persian empire in Egypt as well as in all other places: and this event, I entirely agree with Vitringa, is pointed out to us in this same 19th chapter of Isaiah. It is also foretold, that about the same time several of the Egyptians should be converted to the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel. And as these events, which are the subjects of the latter part of the chapter, (ver. 18—25,) followed upon the subversion of the Persian empire; we may be satisfied, that our application of the former part of the chapter to the Persians in particular, was not a misapplication of the prophecy. *In that day*, that is after that day, after that time, as the phrase signifies, and should be translated in several passages of the prophets, *shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan*, profess the religion of the Hebrews; as in Zephaniah (III. 9.) *I will turn to the people a pure language* signifies I will restore to the people a pure religion, *that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. And swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city*

city of destruction, or of the sun, as it is in the margin of our bibles, meaning Heliopolis, a famous city of Egypt. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord, such as Jacob erected (Gen. XXVIII. 18.) at Bethel. And it shall be for a sign, and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it. The prophet describes the worship of future times, according to the rites and ceremonies of his own time. And the Lord shall smite Egypt, he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them. The prophet then proceeds to show, that Assyria or Syria and Egypt, which used to be at great enmity with each other, shall be united in the same worship by the intermeditation of Israel, and they three shall be a blessing in the earth. In that day shall there be a high way out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria,

and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.

Here it is clearly foretold, that a *great prince, a saviour sent by God*, from a foreign country, should *deliver* the Egyptians from their Persian *oppressors*, and *heal* their country, which was *smitten of God* and afflicted: and who could this be but Alexander, who is always distinguished by the name of *Alexander the great*, and whose first successor in Egypt was called *the great Ptolemy*, and Ptolemy Soter or *the saviour*? Upon Alexander's first coming into Egypt, the (2) people all cheerfully submitted to him out of hatred to the Persians, so that he became master of the country without any opposition. For this reason he treated them with humanity and kindness, built a city there which after his own name he called Alexandria, appointed one of their own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws

(2) Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 588. Edit. Steph. p. 526. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Arrian, Lib. 3. Cap. 1, &c. Quint. Curtius Lib. 4. Cap. 7 et 8. (3) Si liceret conjicere de nomi.

laws and customs. By these changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle administration of some of the first Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning flourished, and for a while peace and plenty blessed the land.

But it is more largely foretold, that about the same time the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel should begin to spread and prevail in the land of Egypt: and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the conversion of a people so sunk and lost in superstition and idolatry of the worst and grossest kind? It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, fled into Egypt, and carried along with them Jeremiah the prophet, (Jer. XLIII. &c.) who there uttered most of his prophecies concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of God, and some notices of the prophecies might easily be derived to the Egyptians. It is said that this alteration should be effected principally in *five cities*. If a certain number be not here put for an uncertain, I should conclude with (3) Le Clerc,

that

nominibus quinque [quatuor]
aliarum urbium, dicerem eas
esse, quæ memorantur Jeremiæ

Cap. XLIV. 2. Migdol (He-
rodoto Magdulus) Thachphan-
ches (eidem Daphne) Noph

B b 3

five

that the *five* cities, wherein the worship of the one true God was first received, were *Heliopolis*, which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah (XLIV. 1.) as the places of the residence of the Jews, *Migdol* or *Magdolum*, *Tabpanbes* or *Daphne*, *Noph* or *Memphis*, and the fourth in the country of *Pathros* or *Thebais*, not mentioned by name, perhaps *Amon-no* or *Diospolis*. There the Jews chiefly resided at that time: and though they were generally very wicked men, and disobedient to the word of the Lord, and upon that account the prophet Jeremiah denounced the heaviest judgments against them; yet some good men might be mingled among them, who might open his prophecies to the Egyptians, and they themselves when they saw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewish religion. But this is to be understood not of all the inhabitants of those places;

but

five Memphis, et quarta in terra Pathros seu Pathyrice, quæ nomine non appellatur, forte Amon-no sive Diospolis. In iis habitarunt Judæi, qui Chaldaeorum metu post captam Ierosolimam in Ægyptum migrarant, eoque invitum Jeremiam abduxerant. Quibus, improbis quippe, licet extrema mala

iis propheta minetur, potuerunt tamen nonnulli pii admitti esse, qui vaticinia ejus Ægyptiis aperuerint, et ipsi, cum ea impleta vidissent, Judaicam religionem amplexi sint. Quod intelligi nolim de incolis omnibus eorum locorum; sed de nonnullis; quod satis est, ut dicentur quinque urbes lingua

Chanah-

but only of some; which is sufficient to justify the expression of *five cities speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts.*

Alexander the great (4) transplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves. Ptolemy Soter (5) carried more of them into Egypt, who there enjoyed such advantages, that not a few of the other Jews went thither of their own accord, the goodness of the country and the liberality of Ptolemy alluring them. Ptolemy Philadelphus (6) redeemed and released the captive Jews: and in his reign or his father's, the books of Moses were translated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Testament. The third (7) Ptolemy, called Euergetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the Gods of Egypt in acknow-
legement

*Chanabaniitide loquuturæ, et per
Jehovem juraturæ. Comment.
in locum.*

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud.
Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 7. p.
1098. Contra Apion. Lib. 2.
Sect. 4. p. 1364. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12.
Cap. 1. p. 508. Hecateus apud
Joseph. Contra Apion. Lib. 1.

Sect. 22. p. 1347. Edit. Hud-
son.

(6) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12.
Cap. 2. p. 508. Contra Apion.
Sect. 4. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson.
Hody de Vers. Græc. Lib. 2.
Cap. 2.

(7) Joseph. Contra Apion.
Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit.
Hudson.

legement of his victory ; but coming to Jerusalem, made his oblations to God after the manner of the Jews : and the king's example, no doubt, would influence many of his subjects. The sixth (8) Ptolemy, called Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra committed the whole management of the kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, who were their chief ministers and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt like that at Jerusalem, alleging for this purpose this very prophecy of Isaiah, that there should *be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt* : and the king and queen in their rescript make honorable mention of the law and of the prophet Isaiah, and express a dread of sinning against God. The place, chosen for the building of this temple, was in the prefecture of Heliopolis or *the city of the sun*, which place is likewise mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, but not so sumptuous and magnificent. He himself was made high-priest ; other priests and Levites

were

(8) Joseph. Contra Apion. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Lib. Ibid. Antiq. Lib. 13. Cap. 3. p. 562. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(9) *our*

were appointed for the ministration; and divine service was daily performed there in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and continued as long; for Vespasian, having destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, ordered this also to be demolished.

By these means *the Lord* must in some degree have been known to Egypt, and the Egyptians must have known *the Lord*: and without doubt there must have been many profelytes among them. Among those whose came up to the feast of Pentecost (Acts II. 10.) there are particularly mentioned *the dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, Jews and profelytes*. Nay from the instance of Candace's eunuch (Acts VIII. 27.) we may infer that there were profelytes even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt, inso-much that (9) Philo represents their number as not less than a hundred myriads or ten hundred thousand men. Nor were they less favored or rewarded for their services, by the kings of Syria, Seleucus Nicator (1) made them free of the cities, which he built in Asia and the lower Syria, and of Antioch itself the capital of his kingdom; and granted the same rights and privileges

(9) οὐκ ἀποδείσσει μυριάδας ἑκα-
τον — In Flaccum. p. 971. Cap. 3. p. 519. Edit. Hudson.
Edit. Paris. 1640,

(1) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12.

(2) Joseph.

privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the great (2) published several decrees in favor of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusalem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Josephus (3) saith that the Jews gained many proselytes at Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and proselytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Israel Egypt and Syria were in some measure united in the same worship. But this was more fully accomplished, when these countries became christian, and so were made members of the same body in Christ Jesus. And we piously hope and believe, that it will still receive its most perfect completion in the latter days, when Mohammedism shall be rooted out, and Christianity shall again flourish in these countries, when *the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved.*

IV. But there is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, which comprehends in little the fate of Egypt from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the present. For therein it is foretold, that after the desolation of the land and the captivity of the people by Nebuchadnezzar, (XXIX. 14, 15.) *it should be a base kingdom: It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself*

(2) Joseph. *ibid.*

(3) De

any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations: and again in the next chapter, (ver. 12, 13.) *I will sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.* Such general prophecies, like general rules, are not to be understood so strictly and absolutely, as if they could not possibly admit of any kind of limitation or exception whatever. It is sufficient if they hold good for the most part, and are confirmed by the experience of many ages, tho' perhaps not without an exception of a few years. The prophets exhibit a general view of things, without entering into the particular exceptions. It was predicted (Gen. IX. 25.) that *Canaan should be a servant of servants unto his brethren*; and generally his posterity were subjected to the descendents of his brethren: but yet they were not always so; upon some occasions they were superior; and Hannibal and the Carthaginians obtained several victories over the Romans, tho' they were totally subdued at last. In like manner it was not intended by this prophecy, that Egypt should ever afterwards, in every point of time, but only that it should

(3) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 1299. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Kai

should for much the greater part of time, be a *base kingdom*, be tributary and subject to strangers. This is the purport and meaning of the prophecy; and the truth of it will best appear by a short deduction of the history of Egypt from that time to this.

Amasis was left king by Nebuchadnezzar; and as he held his crown by the permission and allowance of the Babylonians, there is no room to doubt that he paid them tribute for it. Berosus, the Chaldæan historian, (4) in a fragment preserved by Josephus, speaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his settling the affairs of the country, and carrying captives from thence to Babylon. By his constituting and settling the affairs of Egypt nothing less could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute that they should pay to him: and by carrying some Egyptians captive to Babylon, he plainly intended not only to weaken the country, but also to have them as hostages to secure the obedience of the rest, and the payment of their tribute. If Herodotus hath given no account of these transactions, the reason is evident, according to the observation

(4) Καὶ κατέλαβεν τὰ κατὰ
τὴν Αἰγύπτου πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοι-
πὴν χώραν, καὶ τὰς αἰχμαλώτους—
τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἔθνη, κ. τ.

λ. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10.
Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 459. Edit.
Hudson.

(5) Herod.

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for the
Amas
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revolt
himse
which
again
Up
Cyrus
writte
he aff

(5) I
p. 161.
(6) I
p. 32.

vation cited before from Scaliger; the Egyptian priests would not inform him of things, which were for the discredit of their nation. However we may, I think, confirm the truth of this assertion even by Herodotus's own narration. The Persians succeeded in right of the Babylonians: and it appears (5) by Cyrus's sending for the best physician in Egypt to Amasis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children; and by Cambyfes's demanding the daughter of Amasis, not for a wife but for a mistress; by these instances, I say, it appears that they considered him as their tributary and subject. And indeed no reason can be assigned for the strong resentment of the Persians against Amasis, and their horrid barbarity to his dead body, so probable and satisfactory, as his having revolted and rebelled against them. Herodotus himself (6) mentions the league and alliance, which Amasis made with Cræsus king of Lydia against Cyrus.

Upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire Cyrus erected the Persian. Xenophon hath written the life of this extraordinary man: and he affirms (7) both in the introduction and near the

(5) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 1.
p. 161. Edit. Gale.

(7) Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib.
1. p. 2. Lib. 8. p. 137. Edit.

(6) Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 77. Henr. Steph. 1581.
p. 32. Edit. Gale.

(8) Herod.

the conclusion of his history, that Cyrus also conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire; and there is not a more faithful, as well as a more elegant historian than Xenophon. But whether Cyrus did or not, it is universally allowed that his (8) son Cambyfes did conquer Egypt, and deprived Psammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of his father Amasis. Cambyfes purposed to have made Psammenitus administrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the custom of the Persians to do to the conquered princes: but Psammenitus forming schemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was forced to drink bull's blood, and thereby put an end to his life. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. Then they (9) revolted toward the latter end of the reign of Darius the son of Hytaspes: but his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition of servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and

(8) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 10—
15. p. 164—167. Edit. Gale.

(9) Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 1 et
7. p. 382 et 384. Edit. Gale.

(1) Thucydides Lib. 1. Sect.

104—110. p. 57—60. Edit.
Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Lib.

11. p. 279. Edit. Steph. p. 54.
&c. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhodmani.

(2) Herod.

and twenty years after this, when (1) the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Persia about the succession to the throne after the death of Xerxes, they revolted again at the instigation of Inarus king of Lybia; and having drove away the Persian tribute-collectors, they constituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt submitted again to the king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus who reigned in the fens, whither the Persians could not approach to take him; but Inarus, the author of these evils, was betrayed to the Persians, and was crucified. However they (2) permitted his son Thannyra to succeed his father in the kingdom of Lybia; and Egypt continued in subjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the (3) tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sallied out of the fens, drove the Persians out of Egypt, made himself master of the country, and reigned there six years; but his son Pausiris, (4) as Herodotus informs us, succeeding him in his kingdom.

(2) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. p. 146. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book 6. Anno 414.

(3) Eusebius in Chronico. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3590.

(4) Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 15. Ibid.

(5) Diod.

kingdom by the favor of the Persians, this argues that the Persians had again subdued Egypt, or at least that the king was not established without their consent and approbation. It is certain that after this, Egypt gave much trouble to the Persians. Artaxerxes Mneumon (5) made several efforts to reconquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally subdued till the (6) ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Christ; when Nectanebus the last king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became absolute master of the country, and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory and with immense treasures to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties. It hath always been subject to strangers. It hath never been governed by a king of its own. From this last revolt of the Egyptians in the tenth year of Darius Nothus to their total subjugation in the ninth year of Ochus, I think there are computed sixty four years: and this is the only exception of any significance to the general truth of the prophecy

(5) Diod. Sic. Lib. 15. p. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.
478. Edit. Steph. p. 357 &c. (6) Diod. Sic. Lib. 16. p. 537.
Edit.

phesy. But what are sixty four years compared to two thousand three hundred and twenty five? for so many years have passed from the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar to this time. They are really as nothing, and not worth mentioning in comparison: and during these sixty four years, we see, that the Egyptians were not entirely independent of the Persians; Pausiris succeeded his father Amyrtæus in the kingdom by their consent and favor: and during the rest of the time the Egyptians lived in continual fear and dread of the Persians, and were either at war with them, or with one another. And perhaps this part of the prophecy was not intended to take effect immediately: its completion might be designed to commence from this period, when the Persians had totally subdued Egypt, and then there should be *no more a prince of the land of Egypt*.

After the Persians Egypt came into the hands of the Macedonians. It submitted to Alexander the great without striking a stroke; made no attempts at that favorable juncture to recover its liberties, but was content only to change its master. After the death of Alexander it fell
to

Edit. Steph. p. 448. Tom. 2. A.M. 3654. p. 196. Prid. Con-
Edit. Rhod. Usher's Annals. next. Part 1. B. 7. Anno 350.
V o l. I. C c (7) *Annals*

to the share of Ptolemy, one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for several generations. The two or three first of the Ptolemies were wise and potent princes, but most of the rest were prodigies of luxury and wickedness. It is (7) Strabo's observation, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill, being corrupted by luxury; but they who governed worst of all were the fourth, and the seventh, and the last called Auletes. The persons here intended by Strabo were (8) Ptolemy Philopator or *the lover of his father*, so called (as Justin conceives) by way of antiphrasis, or with a contrary meaning, because he was a parricide, and murder'd both his father and his mother; and (9) Ptolemy Physcon or the big-bellied, who affected the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*, but the Alexandrians more justly named him *Kakergetes* or *the malefactor*; and (1) Ptolemy Auletes or *the piper*, so denominated, because he spent much of his time in playing on the

(7) Ἀπαιεῖς μὲν ἐν οἱ μίλα
τον τρίτον Πτολεμαίων ὑπο τρυ-
φῆς διαφθαλμῖνοι, χειρὸν ἐπολι-
τευσαμένοι· χειρῖνα δ' ὁ τέταρτος,
καὶ ὁ ἑβδομος, καὶ ὁ ὕστατος ὁ
Αὐλητής. Omnes post tertium
Ptolemæum malè regnum ges-
serunt, luxu perdit: omnium

verò pessimè quartus, et sep-
timus, et ultimus Auletes.
Strab. Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit.
Paris. p. 1146. Edit. Amstel.
1707.

(8) Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1.
Sect. 5. p. 466. Edit. Grævii.
Ægyptum, patre ac matre inter-
fectis,

the pipe, and used to contend for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians (2) continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, of whom it is not easy to say, whether she excelled more in beauty, or wit, or wickedness.

After the Macedonians Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. The Romans had either by virtue of treaties or by force of arms obtained great authority there, and were in a manner arbiters of the kingdom before, but after the death of Cleopatra (3) Octavius Cæsar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, to whom the tenth eclogue is inscribed, the first prefect or governor: and so it continued to be governed by a prefect or viceroy sent from Rome, or from Constantinople, when after the division of the Roman empire it fell to the share of the eastern emperors. It was first made a province

sectis, occupaverat Ptolemæus, cui ex facinoris crimine, cognomentum *Philopatori* fuit.

(9) Athenæus Lib. 12. p. 549. Edit. Casaubon.

(1) Strabo ibid.

(2) Clemens Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1. p. 143. Edit. Sylburg.

p. 396. Edit. Potter. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 30. Herod. 8.

(3) Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 797, et 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1147, et 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Dion.

Cass. Lib. 51. p. 455. Edit. Leunclav.

G c 2

(4) See

province of the Roman empire in the year (4) 30 before Christ, and in this state it remained without much variation till the year 641 after Christ, that is 670 years in the whole from the reign of Augustus Cæsar to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the (5) Saracens, in the reign of Omar their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou the son of Aas, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Misrah (formerly Memphis, now Cairo) by storm, and also Alexandria, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and had lost twenty three thousand men before it: and the rest of the kingdom soon followed the fortune of the capital cities, and submitted to the conqueror. There is one thing which was effected partly in the wars of the Romans and partly by the Saracens, and which no lover of learning can pass over without lamentation; and that is the destruction of the library at Alexandria. This famous library was founded by the first Ptolemies, and
was

(4) See Usher, Prideaux &c. under that year.

(5) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 23, 24. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 112. Verf. Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. 1. p. 344. &c.

(6) Ammianus Marcellinus

Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 343. Edit. Valesii 1681. ubi vide etiam quæ Valesius adnotavit. A. Gellius. Lib. 6. Cap. 17.

(7) Epiphanius de Mensuris et Ponderibus. Op. Vol. 2. p. 168. Edit. Petavii. Paris. 1622. Chrysostom. Advers. Judæos. Orat.

was so much enlarged and improved by their successors, that it (6) amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. It consisted (7) of two parts, one in that quarter of the city called Bruchion, containing four hundred thousand volumes, and the other within the Serapeum, containing three hundred thousand volumes. It happened, that while Julius Cæsar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, (8) the library in Bruchion together with other buildings was burnt, and the (9) four hundred thousand volumes which were kept therein were all consumed. But this loss was in some measure repaired by the (1) Pergamean library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, which Anthony presented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards, so that (2) this latter library was reckoned as numerous and as famous as the other ever was: and it came to the same fatal end, this being also destroyed by fire. For (3) John the Grammarian, a famous philosopher of

Orat. 1. p. 595. Op. Vol. 1. Edit. Varior. Orosii Hist. Lib. 6.
Edit. Benedict.

(8) Plutarch in Julio Cæsare. Cap. 15. p. 421. Edit. Haver-

Op. Vol. 1. p. 731. Edit. Paris. (1) Plutarch in Antonio. Op.

1624. Dion Cassius, Lib. 42. p. Vol. 1. p. 943. Edit. Paris. 1624.

202. Edit. Leunclav. (2) Tertull. Apol. Cap. 18.

(9) Seneca de Tranquill. ani- p. 18. Edit. Rigaltii. 1675.

mi, Cap. 9. Op. Vol. 1. p. 362. (3) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn.

of Alexandria, being in great favor with Amrou the Saracen general, asked of him the royal library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to give it him, without leave first obtained from the emperor of the faithful. Amrou therefore wrote to Omar, and acquainted him with John's petition, to which the caliph returned this answer; that if what was contained in those books was agreeable to the book of God or the Koran, the Koran was sufficient without them; but if it was repugnant to the Koran, it was no ways useful; and therefore he commanded them to be destroyed. Amrou in obedience to the caliph's commands ordered them to be distributed among the baths of the city, and to be burnt in warming them, whereof there were no fewer at that time in Alexandria than four thousand: and yet there passed six months before the books were all consumed; which sufficiently evinces how great their number was, and what an inestimable loss not only Egypt, but all the learned world hath sustained. Egypt before this (4) was frequented

9. p. 114. Versio Pocockii. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 359 &c. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 1. Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. 1.

(4) Vide Amm. Marcellin.

Lib. 22. Cap. 16. p. 344 &c. Edit. Valesii Paris. 1681.

(5) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 325 &c. et Pocockii Supplementum p. 8. &c.

(6) Pocockii Supplem. p. 7. *Mamluc*

quented by learned foreigners for the sake of this library, and produced several learned natives; but after this it became more and more a *base kingdom*, and sunk into greater ignorance and superstition. Mohammedism was now established there instead of Christianity, and the government of the Caliphs and Sultans continued till about the year of Christ 1250.

About that time it was that the (5) Mamalucs usurped the royal authority. The (6) word in general signifies a slave bought with money, but is appropriated in particular to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, whom the Sultans of Egypt bought very young, trained up in military exercises, and so made them their choicest officers and soldiers, and by them controlled their subjects, and subdued their enemies. These slaves perceiving how necessary and useful they were, grew at length insolent and audacious, slew their sovrans, and usurped the government to themselves. It is commonly said, that none but the sons of Christians were taken into this order; and there are other popular

Mamluc autem (et cum de pluribus dicitur *Mamalic*) servum emptitium denotat, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit. Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale. p. 545. *Mam-*

luk. Ce mot dont le pluriel est *Memalik*, signifie en Arabe un esclave en general, mais en particulier, il a été appliqué a ces esclaves Turcs et Circassiens &c.

C c 4

(7) Sir

pular mistakes about them, which are current among European authors, and which (7) Sir William Temple among others hath adopted and expressed, as he doth every thing, in a lively and elegant manner. “ The sons of the de-
 “ ceased Sultans enjoyed the estates and riches
 “ left by their fathers, but by the constitutions
 “ of the government no son of a sultan was
 “ ever either to succeed, or even to be elected
 “ Sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others
 “ ever known in the world, to be born of a
 “ prince, was a certain and unalterable exclu-
 “ sion from the kingdom; and none was ever
 “ to be chosen Sultan, that had not been actu-
 “ ally sold for a slave, brought from Circassia, and
 “ trained up a private foldier in the Mamaluc
 “ bands.” But (8) they who are better versed
 in oriental authors, assure us that these are vul-
 gar errors: and it appears from the (9) Arabian
 historians, that among the Mamalucs the son
 often

(7) Sir W. Temple's Works.
 Vol. 1. Miscellanea. Part 2.
 Essay on Heroic Virtue. Sect. 5.
 p. 224.

(8) Pocockii Supplem. p. 31.
 Ex his quæ dicta sunt facile pa-
 tet, in errore esse eos qui Mam-
 lucos Christianorum tantummo-
 do filios fuisse autumant; nec
 non in aliis errasse, quæ de suc-

cessionis apud eos jure, eorum-
 que disciplina tradunt. Herbe-
 lot Bib. Orient. p. 545. Il pa-
 roît par ce que l'on vient de
 voir, que les Mamelucs n'étoient
 pas fils de Chrétiens (si ce n'est
 peut être quelqu'un d'entr'eux)
 comme plusieurs de nos histo-
 riens l'ont avancé.

(9) Pocockii Supplem. p. 8,

often
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 P. 4

often succeeded the father in the kingdom. Their government is thus characterized by an (1) Arabic author quoted by Dr. Pocock; 'If you consider the whole time that they possessed the kingdom, especially that which was nearer the end, you will find it filled with wars, battles, injuries and rapines.' Their government (2) began with Sultan Ibeg in the 648th year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1250; and continued through a (3) series of 24 Turkish and 23 Circassian Mamaluc Sultans, 275 Arabic and 267 Julian years; and (4) ended with Tumanbäi in the 923d year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1517.

For at that time (5) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last Sultan Tumanbäi before one of the gates of Cairo, put an end to their government; caused five hundred of the chiefest Egyptian families to be transported to Constantinople,

10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

(1) Al. Jannabius in Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis et rapinis refer-
tum.

(2) Pocock. p. 8. Herbelot. p. 479.

(3) Pocock. p. 8—30. Herbelot. p. 545.

(4) Pocock. p. 30. Herbelot. p. 1031.

(5) Pocockii Supplem. p. 30 et 49. Herbelot. Bibli. Orient. p. 545, et 802, et 1031. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut's Turkish Hist. Vol. 1. p. 241.

(6) Prince

tinople, as likewise a great number of Mamelukes wives and children, besides the Sultan's treasure and other immense riches; and annexed Egypt to the Othman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed by a Turkish Bascha (6) with twenty four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them. But it is not merely a superstitious notion, but a notion in all probability at first derived from some tradition of these prophecies, that *Egypt should be a base kingdom, that there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt, and that Ham in his posterity should be a servant of servants unto his brethren.*

By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fully attested by the whole series of the history of Egypt from that time to the present. And who could pretend to say upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a country, should ever afterwards become tributary and subject to strangers?

(6) Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire. Part 1. B. 3. p. 156. in the Notes.

(7) See

strangers? It is now a great deal above two thousand years, since this prophecy was first delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never in all that time be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event. For not long afterwards Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians (7) by the Persians; and after the Persians it became subject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and is now a province of the Turkish empire,

Thus we see how Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre and Egypt, the great adversaries and oppressors of the Jews, have been visited by divine vengeance for their enmity and cruelty to the people of God. Not that we must think God so partial as to punish these nations only for the sake of the Jews; they were guilty of other flagrant sins, for which the prophets denounced the divine judgments upon them. Egypt
in

(7) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 1. Anno 589. Zedekiah 10.

(8) Strabo.

in particular was so severely threaten'd by the prophet Ezekiel, (Chap. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII.) for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedness. And the Egyptians have generally been more wretched, as they have generally been more wicked, than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an (8) unwarlike and unserviceable people, as (9) a faithless and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as (1) lovers of wine and strong drink, as (2) cruel in their anger, as (3) thieves and tolerating all kinds of theft, as (4) patient of tortures, and tho' put to the rack, yet choosing rather to die than to confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colors. The famous (5) Thevenot is very strong and severe; "The people of Egypt (generally speaking) are all swarthy, exceeding

(8) Strabo. Lib. 17. p. 819. Edit. Paris. p. 1175. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Juvenal Sat. XV. 126. imbellis et inutile vulgus.

(9) Lucan V. 58. non fidæ gentis. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. Cap. 16. fallacem gentem, semperque alia cogitantem, alia simulantem.

(1) Athenæus ex Dione Lib. I. p. 34. Edit. Casaubon. φι-

λονες και φιλοπολας. vinosos ac bibaces.

(2) Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 719. Edit. Casaubon. Δεινὴ γὰρ τις ἡ παρὰ τὴν θυμὸν ὁμολογίαν τῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρώπων. Est enim hoc Ægyptiis hominibus innatum, ut dum fervent ira mirum in modum sint crudeles.

(3) A. Gellius. Lib. 11. Cap. 18. Ex Aristone. furta omnia fuisse

fuisse
Sic.
p. 7
(4)
7. C
εἰς τὴν
δαρλο
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hom

“ exceeding wicked, great rogues, cowardly,
 “ lazy, hypocrites, buggerers, robbers, trea-
 “ cherous, so very greedy of money, that they
 “ will kill a man for a *maidin* or three half-
 “ pence.” Bishop (6) Pococke’s character of
 them is not much more favorable, though not
 so harsh and opprobrious; “ The natives of
 “ Egypt are now a slothful people, and delight
 “ in fitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem
 “ always to have been more fit for the quiet
 “ life, than for any active scenes.—They are
 “ also malicious and envious to a great degree,
 “ which keeps them from uniting and setting
 “ up for themselves; and though they are very
 “ ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning
 “ and artifice as well as falsehood, and this
 “ makes them always suspicious of travelers—
 “ The love of money is so rooted in them,
 “ that nothing is to be done without bribery—
 “ They

fuisse licita et impunita. Diod.
 Sic. Lib. 1. p. 50. Edit. Steph.
 p. 72. Edit. Rhod.

(4) Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib.
 7. Cap. 18. Αἰγυπτίως φασὶ δυνῶς
 εἰς χαλκὸν ταῖς βασανίαις, καὶ ὅτι
 θάτον τοῦ ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου
 ἐλεμῶτος, ἢ τ’ ἀληθὲς ὁμολογήσει.
 Ægyptios aiunt patientissime
 ferre tormenta; et citius mori
 hominem Ægyptium in quæ-

tionibus, tortum examinatum-
 que, quam veritatem prodere.
 Ammianus Marcell. Lib. 22.
 Cap. 16. p. 347. Edit. Vale-
 sii 1681.

(5) Thevenot in Harris’s col-
 lection. Vol. 2. Chap. 8. p.
 429.

(6) Pococke’s Description of
 the East. Vol. 1. Book 4.
 Chap. 4. p. 177. &c.

(1) Cave

DISSERTATIONS ON

“ They think the greatest villanies are expiated,
 “ when once they wash their hands and feet.
 “ —Their words pass for nothing, either in
 “ relations, promises, or professions of friend-
 “ ship, &c.” Such men are evidently born
 not to command, but to serve and obey. They
 are altogether unworthy of liberty. Slavery is
 the fittest for them, as they are fittest for slavery.
 It is an excellent political aphorism of the wisest
 of kings, and all history will bear witness to the
 truth of it, that (Prov. XIV. 34.) *righteousness*
exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach and ruin
to any people.



XIII.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S *dream of the great empires.*

WE have seen how it pleased God to reveal unto the prophets the future condition of several of the neighbouring countries; but there are other prophecies which extend to more remote nations, those nations especially and their transactions, wherein the church of God was particularly interested and concerned. It pleased God too to make these revelations, at a time when his people seemed in other respects abandoned and forsaken, and did not so much deserve, as stand in need of light and comfort. Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied in the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied during the time of the Babylonish captivity. And the prophecies of Daniel are so clear and exact, that in former as well as in later times it hath confidently been asserted, that they must have been written after the events, which they are pretended to foretel.

The famous Porphyry (who flourished at the latter end of the third century after Christ) was I think the first who denied their genuineness and authority. He wrote (1) fifteen books against the Christian religion, the twelfth of which was designed to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel; and therein he affirmed, that they were not composed by Daniel whose name they bore, but by some body who lived in Judea about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all to that time contained true history, but all beyond that were manifestly false. This work of Porphyry together with the answers of Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, is wholly lost, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preserved in Jerome and others of the fathers, But as (2) Jerome rightly observes, this method of opposing the prophecies is the strongest testimony of their truth. For they were fulfilled with such exactness, that to infidels the prophet seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past.

The

(1) Cave Hist. Lit. Vol. 1. p. 156. Hieron. Præf. in Daniele. Vol. 3. p. 1072. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta

enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita. Hieron. ibid.

(3) See

The celebrated author of *the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy consider'd* hath followed the steps of Porphyry. He hath collected every thing, that in the course of his reading he thought could be turned to the disparagement of the book of Daniel. He hath framed all that he had collected into eleven objections against it; and upon the whole concludes with much positiveness and assurance, that it must be written in the days of the Maccabees. But his (3) two learned opponents, both of the same name, have solidly and clearly refuted his eleven objections, and shown them all to be mere cavils or direct falsities, groundless assertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

And indeed it may be proved, it hath been proved to a demonstration, as much as any thing of this nature can be proved to a demonstration, by all the characters and testimonies both internal and external, that the prophecies of Daniel were written at the time that the scripture says they were written, and he prospered on account of these prophecies (Dan. VI. 28.) *in the reign of Darius the Mede, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian*: that is between

(3) See Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defense of Christianity, and Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, in answer to the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy consider'd.

tween five and six hundred years before Christ. It is very capricious and unreasonable in unbelievers to object, as Collins doth, to the prophecies of Daniel, sometimes that they are too plain, and sometimes that they are too obscure. But it will entirely overthrow the notion of their being written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Maccabees, and will establish the credit of Daniel as a prophet beyond all contradiction, if it can be proved that there are several prophecies of his which have been fulfilled since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees as well as before, nay that there are prophecies of his which are fulfilling in the world at this very time.

Daniel's first prophecy, and the groundwork as I may say of all the rest, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This monarch *in the second year of his reign* (Dan. II. 1.) according to the Babylonian account, or the fourth according to the Jewish, that is in the second year of his reigning alone, or the fourth from his first reigning jointly with his father, having subdued all his enemies and firmly established his throne, was thinking *upon his bed*, (ver. 29.) *what should come to pass hereafter*, what should be the future success of his family and kingdom, and whether any or what families

families and kingdoms might arise after his own: and as our waking thoughts usually give some tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of something to the same purpose, which astonished him, but which he could not rightly understand. The dream affected him strongly at the time; but awaking in confusion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it, he could not recollect all the particulars. He called therefore (ver. 2.) for *the magicians and astrologers*; and as absurdly as imperiously demanded of them (ver. 5.) upon pain of death and destruction, *to make known unto him both the dream and the interpretation thereof*. They answered very reasonably, that no king had ever required such a thing, that it transcended all the powers and faculties of man, God alone or only beings like God could disclose it; (ver. 10, 11.) *There is not a man upon earth that can show the king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldean: And it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can show it before the king, except the God, whose dwelling is not with flesh*. But the pride of absolute power cannot hear any reason, or bear any controul; and the king greatly incensed presently ordered all the magicians and

wise-men of Babylon to be destroyed; (ver. 12.) *For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise-men of Babylon.*

Daniel and his fellows would have been involved in the same fate as the rest; but by their joint and earnest prayers to the God of heaven, *the secret was revealed unto Daniel in a night-vision; (ver. 19.) and Daniel blessed the God of heaven.* Daniel thus instructed was desirous to save the lives of the wise-men of Babylon, who were unjustly condemned, as well as his own: and he *went unto Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise-men of Babylon: he went (ver. 24.) and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise-men of Babylon; bring me in before the king, and I will show unto the king the interpretation.* The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and said (ver. 25.) *I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.* *I have found a man* said he, tho' Daniel had voluntarily offered himself; where Jerome

remarks

(4) Hieron. Comment. in ver. 1. Vidit rex impius somnium futurorum, ut interpretante Sancto quod viderat, Deus glorificaretur; et captivorum Deo-

que in captivitate servientium sit grande solatium. Hoc idem in Pharaone legimus, non quod Pharaon et Nabuchodonosor videre meruerint; sed quod Joseph

remarks the manner of courtiers, *qui quum bona nunciant, sua videri volunt*, who when they relate good things, are willing to have them thought their own, and to have the merit ascribed to themselves. But Daniel was far from assuming any merit to himself, and said very modestly, that *this secret* (ver. 27.) *which the wise-men, astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers could not show unto the king, was not revealed to him* (ver. 30.) *for any wisdom that he had more than others: but there is a God in heaven* (ver. 28.) *that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days; or what shall come to pass hereafter,* as it is expressed (ver. 29 & 45.) twice afterwards. The impious king, as (4) Jerome justly observes, had a prophetic dream, that the Saint interpreting it, God might be glorified, and the captives and those who served God in captivity might receive great consolation. We read the same thing of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deserved to see such things, but that Joseph and Daniel by interpreting them might be preferred to all others.

And

seph et Daniel digni extiterint, qui interpretatione eorum omnibus praeferrentur. Et postea in ver. 29.—et ut Nabucho-

miretur gratiam, non solum quid in somnio viderit, sed ante somnium quid tacitus cogitarit exponit. Vol. 3. p. 1077, et 1080. Edit. Benedict.

And as St. Jerome farther observes, that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inspiration, Daniel not only told him what he saw in his dream, but also what he thought within himself before his dream. (ver. 29.) *As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets, maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass.*

Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of a great image. This great image, (ver. 31.) *whose brightness was excellent, stood before him, and the form thereof was terrible.* It appears from ancient coins and medals, that cities and people were often represented by figures of men and women. A great terrible human figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was composed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which should arise. It consisted of four different metals, gold and silver and brass and iron mixed with clay; and these four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean so many kingdoms: and the order of their succession is clearly denoted by the

(5) Pars statuae quod superior, et priora, quod inferior, et seriora tempora significat. Grot. in loc.

(6) Ex hoc Danielis loco hauserunt poetae fabulas suas de quatuor saeculis, aureo, argenteo,

the order of the parts, the (5) head and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts, the later the times. From hence, (6) as Calvin conceives, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age; by which declension in this place it is signified, that the world always degenerates, and manners grow worse and worse. But Hesiod, who lived above 200 years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world; so that this vision was formed agreeably to the common received notion, and the common received notion was not first propagated from hence. Whether this notion of the world's degenerating and growing worse and worse be true or not, these different kingdoms will naturally constitute the different heads of our discourse. And we shall follow the best commentators from Josephus down to Sir Isaac Newton, but we shall regard no commentator so much as the truth of history, the evidence of reason, and the analogy of scripture.

I. *This image's head was of fine gold, (ver. 32.)*
which Daniel interprets (ver. 38.) *Thou art this*
head

reo, æneo, ferreo; qua declinatione h. l. significatur, mundum semper decidere, et mores

prolabi in deterius. Calvin apud Poli Synopf.

head of gold, thou, and thy family, and thy representatives. The *Babylonian* therefore was the first of these kingdoms; and it was fitly represented by *the head of fine gold*, on account of its great riches; and Babylon for the same reason was called by *Isaiah* (XIV. 4.) *the golden city*. The *Assyrian* is usually said to be the first of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to pass, if it be not taken too strictly. For the Assyrian empire properly so called was dissolved before this time; the Babylonian was erected in its stead: but the Babylonians are sometimes called Assyrians in the best classic authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others, as well as in the holy scriptures. Daniel addresseth Nebuchadnezzar, as if he was a very powerful king, and his empire very large and extensive; (ver. 37.) *Thou, O king, art a king of kings*. He perhaps might think, like some of his predecessors, that his conquests were owing to his own fortitude and prudence: (Is. X. 13.) *By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent; and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have*

(7) Κρατήσει δὲ φησὶ τὸν Βαβυλωνίον Αἴγυπτον, Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Ἀραβίαν. πάντας δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλευμενίας. Di-

cit insuper quod Babylonius tenuerit Ægyptum, Syriam, Phœniciam, Arabiam; quodque priores Chaldæorum, et Babyloniorum reges universos rebus

Have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. But the prophet assures him that his success must be primarily imputed to the God of heaven; (ver. 37 and 38.) For the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory: And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all.

All the ancient eastern histories almost are lost: but there are some fragments even of heathen historians yet preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Berosus in Josephus (7) saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits surpassed all the Chaldæans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus (8) subjoins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia: With these likewise agrees Philostratus in his history,

a se præclare gestis superarit.
Apud Joseph. Contr. Apion.
Lib. 1. Sect. 19. p. 1342. Edit.
Hudson.

(8) — εν τοις αρχαιοις των Φοι-
νικων συμφωνα τοις υπο Βηρωσου λε-

γομνοις αναβραβηται, περι τε των
Βαβυλωνιων βασιλευς, οτι και την
Συριαν και την Φοινικην απασαν εκ-
νεν κατεστραλει. περι τε των γυν-
υμφωναι και Φιλοστρατου εν ταις
ιστοριαις, — και Μετασθενης εν τη τε-
ταρτη

history, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his Indian history, throughout which he attempts to show, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatness of exploits; for he affirms that he subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Spain. Strabo likewise from the same Megasthenes (9) asserts, that this king among the Chaldæans was more celebrated than Hercules, and that he proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it (1) ended in his grandson Belshazzar, not 70 years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above 23 years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar; which may be the reason of Daniel's speaking of him as the only king, *thou art this bead of gold, and after thee shall arise &c.* the rest

ταξη των Ινδιων, δι' ης αποβαινει
πειραλαι τον προσηρημενον βασιλεα
των Βαβυλωνιων, Ηρακλεις ανδρει
και μεθευι στρατων διηνοχηται.
κατασφρασθαι γαρ αυτον φησι και
Λιβυης την πολλην και Ιβηριαν. —
in archivis Phœnicum scripta
reperiuntur, quæ cum iis con-
veniunt a Beroso narratis de
rege Babyloniorum, Syriam
scilicet et universam Phœniciam
illum subegisse. His sane ad-

stipulatur Philostratus in histo-
riis, — et Megasthenes in quarto
volumine rerum Indicarum, ubi
ostendere contendit prædictum
Babyloniorum regem et forti-
tudine Herculem et magnitu-
dine præstitisse, dicit enim eum
Lybiæ bonam partem et Iberi-
am subjugasse. Joseph. ibid.
sect. 20. p. 1343.

(9) Ναυκοδροσορον δε τον παρα
Χαλδαιοις ενδοκμησαντα Ηρακλεις
μαλλον,

rest being to be considered as nothing; nor do we read of any thing good or great that was performed by them,

II. *His breast and his arms of silver*, (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) *And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee.* It is very well known, that the kingdom which arose after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Perfian. The two hands and the shoulders, saith (2) Josephus, signify that the empire of the Babylonians should be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Persians, whose powers were united under Cyrus, who was son of one of the kings and son-in-law of the other, and who besieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Perfian, or the Persian as it is more usually called, the Persians having soon gained the ascendancy over the Medes.

This

μαλλον, και εως Στηλων ελασαι, — και εκ της Ισθμιας εις την Θρακην και τον Ποσειον αλυσεν την γαλιαν, — Navocodrosorum autem qui magis a Chaldæis probatur quam Hercules, usque ad Columnas pervenisse, — et exercitum ex Hispania in Thraciam Pontumque duxisse. Strab. Lib. 15. p. 687. Edit. Paris. p. 1007. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(1) See Usher's Annals. A.

M. 3466. p. 100. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. Anno 539. Belshazzar 17.

(2) αι δε δυο χειρες και οι ωμοι σημαυνσιν υπο δυο καταλυθησοντας βασιλεων την ηγεμονιαν υμων. duæ vero manus et humeri indicant imperium vestrum a duobus regibus eversum iri. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Prideaux

This empire is said to be *inferior* as being *less* than the former, *minus te* as the Vulgar Latin translates it, because neither Cyrus nor any of his successors ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain so far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done; or rather *inferior* as being *worse* than the former, *deterius te* as Castalio translates it, for (3) Dr. Prideaux asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that the kings of Persia were “the worst race of men that ever governed an empire.” This empire from its first establishment by Cyrus to the death of the last king Darius Codomannus lasted not much above 200 years. Thus far all critics and commentators are agreed, that the two first kingdoms represented in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream were the Babylonian and the Persian. As to the rest there hath been some controversy, but with little reason or foundation for it, only that some persons are troubled with the spirit of contradiction, and will dispute about the plainest points.

III. *His belly and his thighs of brass*, (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) *And another third*

(3) Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. 2. Anno 559. Neriglissar. 1.

(4) τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἐτίθει τις ἀπὸ δυνεως καθαίρειται χαλκὸν ἡμιφισμεν. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occi-

dente veniens destruet, ære totus obductus. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p. 457. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Accepto deinde imperio, regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi

third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth. It is universally known, that Alexander the great subverted the Persian empire. The kingdom therefore which succeeded to the Persian, was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly represented by *brass*; for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their usual epithet being χαλκοχιτώνες Αχαιοί, *the brazen-coated Greeks*. Daniel's interpretation in (4) Josephus is, that another coming from the west, completely armed in brass, shall destroy the empire of the Medes and Persians. This third kingdom is also said to *bear rule over all the earth* by a figure usual in almost all authors. Alexander himself (5) commanded, that he should be called *the king of all the world*; not that he really conquered, or near conquered the whole world, but he had considerable dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, that is in all the three parts of the world then known; and (6) Diodorus Siculus and other historians give an account of ambassadors coming from almost all the world to congratulate him

mundi appellari iussit. Justin. Lib. 12. Cap. 16. Sect. 9. Edit. Grævii.

(6) κατὰ δὲ τῶτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐξ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν πρεσβυται, κ. τ. λ. quo tempore ē

cunctis fere orbis terrarum partibus legati ad Alexandrum venerunt, &c. Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 622. Edit. Steph. p. 579. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod.

(7) καὶ

him upon his success, or to submit to his empire: and then especially, as (7) Arrian remarks, did Alexander himself appear to himself and to those about him to be *master both of all the earth and sea.*

That this third kingdom therefore was the Macedonian, every one allows, and must allow: but then it is controverted, whether this kingdom ended in the person of Alexander, or was continued in his successors. St. Jerome saith (8) expressly, that the third kingdom signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander. Which is rightly named brazen, saith he: for among all metals brass is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide, that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek language. Another commentator observes, (9) that this kingdom is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenness of Alexander, and the profuse luxury of his successors

(7) καὶ τοὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν τε αὐτῷ Ἀλ. ξανθῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι γῆς τε ἀπασθης καὶ θαλάσσης κυριῶν. ac tum primum Alexandrum sibi ipsi et qui cum eo erant *universæ terræ ac maris dominum* visum esse. Arrian. de

Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Cap. 15. p. 294. Edit. Gronov.

(8) *Et regnum tertium aliud æneum, quod imperabit universæ terræ.* Alexandrum significat, et regnum Macedonum, successorumque Alexandri. Quod rectè

cessors especially of the Ptolemies. It was a strange wild conceit in Grotius and others, to think that the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors made two different kingdoms. Grotius was indeed a very great man, and for the most part a very able and useful commentator: but the greatest and ablest men have their weaknesses, and none hath betrayed more weakness, or committed more errors in chronology and history than he hath done, in explaining the prophecies. His notions here are as mean and contracted, as they are generous and enlarged in other instances.

The Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be designed particularly by *the two thighs* of brass. Of all Alexander's successors they might be pointed out alone, because they alone had much connection with the Jewish church and nation. But their kingdom was no more a different kingdom from that of Alexander, than the parts differ from the whole. It was the same govern-

rectè æneum dicitur: Inter omnia enim metalla æs vocalius est, et tinnit clarius, et sonitus ejus longè latèque diffunditur, ut non solum famam et potentiam regni, sed et eloquentiam Græci sermonis ostenderet.

Hieron. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(9) Confertur hoc ventri, ad notandum Alexandri crapulam, et successorum ejus præcipue Ptolemæorum effusam luxuriam. Tirinus apud Poli Synops.

(1) Τίλει.

government still continued. They who governed were still Macedonians. The metal was the same, and the nation was the same: nor is the same nation ever represented by different metals, but the different metals always signify different nations. All ancient authors too speak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors as one and the same kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are usually called, *the successors of Alexander*. Alexander being dead, (1) saith Josephus, the empire was divided among his successors; he doth not say that so many new empires were erected. After the death of Alexander, saith (2) Justin, the kingdoms of the east were divided among his successors: and he still denominates them Macedonians, and their empire the Macedonian; and reckons Alexander the same to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Persians, and Romulus to the Romans. Grotius himself (3) acknowlegeth, that even now the Hebrews call those kingdoms by one name

the

(1) Τελυττησαντες δε Αλεξανδρου, η μιν αρχη εις τας διαδοχας εμερισθη. Alexandro autem vita defuncto, imperium inter successores divisum est. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 505. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Post mortem Alexandri

magni, dum inter successores ejus orientis regna dividerentur, &c. Justin. Lib. 41. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. Speaking of the Parthians, Postremo Macedonibus triumphato oriente servierunt. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. Hi postea ductis Macedonibus in bellum civile

the kingdom of the Grecians. There is one insuperable objection against the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ being a different kingdom from that of Alexander, because if they are not considered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted as one kingdom, they constitute properly two separate and distinct kingdoms.

IV. *His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay,* (ver. 33.) which is thus interpreted by Daniel (ver. 40, 41, 42, 43.) *And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron; the kingdom shall be divided, but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay; so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron*
mixed

vilē &c. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Ad-
ministratio gentis post defectio-
nem Macedonici imperii sub regi-
bus fuit. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Sic
Arsaces quesito simul constitu-
toque regno, non minus me-
morabilis Parthis, quam Persia
Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander,

VOE: E.

Romanis Romulus, matura fe-
nectute decedit. Cap. 5. Sect.
5. Edit. Grævii.

(3) Etiam nunc Hebræi ista
imperia uno nomine appellant
regnum Grætorum. Gror. in
Dan. VII. 7.

E e

(4) See

mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

Here are farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because the marks and characters here given of the fourth kingdom by no means agree with either of those kingdoms. This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiseeth all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were so far from being stronger, that they were much weaker, and less than any of the former kingdoms. This kingdom too is represented as divided into ten toes: but when or where were the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ divided into so many parts? Besides, the metal here is different, and consequently the nation should be different from the preceding. The four different metals must signify four different nations: and as the gold signified the Babylonians, and the silver the Persians, and the brass the Macedonians; so the iron cannot signify the Macedonians again, but must necessarily denote some other nation: and we will venture to say that there is not a nation

nation upon earth, to which this description is applicable, but the Romans.

The Romans succeeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore in course were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was stronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces, and subdued all the former kingdoms. As Josephus said, that the two arms of silver denoted the kings of the Medes and Persians; so we might say in like manner, that the two legs of iron signified the two Roman consuls. The iron was *mixed with miry clay*, and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten lesser kingdoms, answering to the ten toes of the image, as we shall see hereafter. These kingdoms retained much of the old Roman strength, and manifested it upon several occasions, so that *the kingdom was partly strong and partly broken*. They mingled themselves with the seed of men; they made marriages and alliances one with another, as they continue to do at this day: but no hearty union ensued; reasons of state are stronger than the ties of blood, and interest will always avail more than affinity. Or if by *the seed of men* we are to understand the same as by *the daughters of men* (Gen. VI. 2.) those of a

false and different religion, it may allude to the intermarriages, which several of the European nations, and particularly the French Spanish and Portuguese, have made with the Indians Africans and Americans. Thus some of the ten kingdoms who call themselves *sons of God*, and the *only* sons of God by adoption, have mixed with *the seed of men*, with strangers to him; and yet no solid union ensues. Which observation was suggested to me by an unknown Correspondent, Mr. Hercules Younge, an ingenious Clergyman of Carrick in Ireland. The Roman empire therefore is represented in a double state, first with the strength of iron, conquering all before it, *his legs of iron*; and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, *his feet part of iron, and part of clay*. It subdued Syria, and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the (4) year 65 before Christ; it subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 before Christ: and in the fourth century

(4) See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(5) Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicuè pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod comminuit et domat omnia: sed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte sunt fictiles, quod hoc tempore manifestissi-

mè comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit; ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Quod

tury after Christ, it began to be torn in pieces by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

St. Jerome lived to see the incursions of the barbarous nations : and his (5) comment is, that
 ‘ the fourth kingdom, which plainly belongs to
 ‘ the Romans, is the iron that breaketh and sub-
 ‘ dueth all things ; but his feet and toes are part
 ‘ of iron, and part of clay, which is most mani-
 ‘ festly proved at this time : For as in the be-
 ‘ ginning nothing was stronger and harder than
 ‘ the Roman empire, so in the end of things
 ‘ nothing is weaker ; since both in civil wars,
 ‘ and against divers nations, we want the assist-
 ‘ ance of other barbarous nations.’ He hath
 given the same interpretation in other parts of
 his works ; and it seemeth that he had been
 blamed for it, as a reflection upon the govern-
 ment ; and therefore he maketh this apology for
 himself. ‘ If (6) saith he in explaining the sta-
 ‘ tue and the difference of his feet and toes, I
 ‘ have interpreted the iron and clay of the Ro-
 ‘ man kingdom, which the scripture foretels
 ‘ should

(6) Quod si in expositione
 statuæ pedumque ejus, et digi-
 torum discrepantia, ferrum et
 testam super Romano regno in-
 terpretatus sum, quod primum
 forte, dein imbecillum scriptura
 portendit, non mihi imputent,
 sed prophetæ. Neque enim sic

adulandum est principibus, ut
 sanctorum scripturarum veritas
 negligatur, nec generalis dis-
 putatio unius personæ injuria
 est. Præf. in Isaïæ Cap.
 XXXVI. Vol. 3. p. 283. Edit.
 Benedict.

‘ should first be strong, and then weak, let them
 ‘ not impute it to me, but to the prophet:
 ‘ For we must not so flatter princes, as to ne-
 ‘ glect the verity of the holy scriptures, nor is a
 ‘ general disputation an injury to a single person.’

All ancient writers, both Jewish and Christian, agree with Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. Porphyry, who was a heathen, and an enemy to Christ, was the first who broached the other opinion; which, though it hath been maintained since by some of the moderns, is yet not only destitute of the authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both scripture and history. It is a just observation of (7) Mr. Mede, who was as able and consummate a judge as any in these matters:
 “ The Roman empire to be the fourth kingdom
 “ of Daniel, was believed by the church of
 “ Israel both before and in our Saviour’s time;
 “ received by the disciples of the apostles, and
 “ the whole Christian church for the first 300
 “ years, without any known contradiction.
 “ And I confess, having so good ground in
 “ scripture, it is with me *tantum non articulus*
 “ *fidei, little less than an article of faith.*”

V. Besides this image, Nebuchadnezzar saw
 (ver. 34, 35.) *till that a stone was cut out with-*
out

(7) Mede’s Works, B. 4. Epist. 6. p. 736.

(8) Justin.

out hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces: Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth: Which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel, (ver. 44, 45.) And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever: Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold. They who maintain that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ, do, many of them, maintain likewise that this fifth kingdom was the Roman. But how can these characters agree with the Roman empire? How was the Roman empire cut out of the mountain without hands, or formed without human force and human policy? How was the Roman empire of God's erection more than any of the former kingdoms? How can the Roman

empire which is *left to other people*, be said *not* to be *left to other people*, and how can that which is *broken in pieces*, be said to *stand for ever*?

This description can with propriety only be understood, as the ancients understood it, of the kingdom of Christ. *And in the days of these kings*, that is in the days of some of them. *As in the days when the judges ruled* (Ruth I. 1.) signifies *in the days when some of the judges ruled*; so *in the days of these kings* signifies *in the days of some of these kingdoms*: and it must be during the days of the last of them, because they are reckoned *four* in succession, and consequently this must be the fifth kingdom. Accordingly the kingdom of Christ was set up during the days of the last of these kingdoms, that is the Roman. The *stone* was totally a different thing from the *image*, and the kingdom of Christ is totally different from the kingdoms of this world. *The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, as our heavenly body is said (2 Cor. V. 1.) to be *a building of God, an house not made with hands*; that is spiritual, as the phrase is used in other places. (Mark XIV. 58. compared with John II. 21. See also Coloss. II. 11.) This the (8) fathers generally

(8) Justin. Martyr. cum Tryphone Dial. p. 301. Edit. Thirlbii. Irenæi. Lib. 3. advers. Hæreses. Cap. 28. p. 258. Edit. Grabe.

generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or strength of armies, but without human means, and the virtue of second causes. This kingdom was *set up by the God of heaven*; and from hence the phrase of *the kingdom of heaven* came to signify the kingdom of the Messiah; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it is applied by our Saviour in the New Testament. Other kingdoms were raised by human ambition and worldly power: but this was the work not of man but of God; this was truly as it is called *the kingdom of heaven*, and (John XVIII. 36.) *a kingdom not of this world*; its laws, its powers were all divine. This kingdom was *never to be destroyed*, as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian empires have been, and in great measure also the Roman. This kingdom was to *break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms*, to spread and inlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was to *fill the whole earth*,

Grabe. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Vol. 3. p. 1081. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

(9) Mede's

earth, to become universal, and to stand for ever.

As the fourth kingdom or the Roman empire was represented in a twofold state, first strong and flourishing *with legs of iron*, and then weakened and divided *with feet and toes part of iron and part of clay*; so this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ is described likewise in two states, which (9) Mr. Mede rightly distinguisheth by the names of *regnum lapidis* the kingdom of the stone, and *regnum montis* the kingdom of the mountain; the first when *the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, the second when it became itself *a mountain and filled the whole earth*. *The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands*, the kingdom of Christ was first set up, while the Roman empire was in its full strength with *legs of iron*. The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten lesser kingdoms, the remains of which are subsisting at present. The image is still standing upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Christ is yet *a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence*: but the stone will one day smite the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly, and will itself be-

come

(9) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epist. 8. p. 743.

(1) Waltoni Prolegom. XII. 10. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. Lib. 6.

come a great mountain, and fill the whole earth: or in other words (Rev. XI. 15.) *the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* We have therefore seen the kingdom of the *stone*, but we have not yet seen the kingdom of the *mountain*. Some parts of this prophecy still remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of the other parts will not suffer us to doubt of the accomplishment of the rest also in due season.

As we may presume to say that this is the only true and genuin interpretation of this passage, so likewise is it the most consonant to the sense of all ancient writers, both Jews and Christians; and its antiquity will be a farther recommendation and confirmation of its truth. Jonathan Bel Uzziel, who made the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase upon the prophets, (1) lived a little before our Saviour. He made no Chaldee version of Daniel, the greater part of this book being originally written in Chaldee, or his version is lost: but however he applies the prophecies of Daniel in his interpretation of other prophets. Thus in his paraphrase upon Habakuk he speaketh of the four great kingdoms

6. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 8. Anno 27. Herod. 1.

(2) Habak.

doms of the earth, (2) that they should in their turns be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. ' For the kingdom of Babylon shall not continue, nor exercise dominion over Israel; the kings of Media shall be slain, and the strong men of Greece shall not prosper; the Romans shall be blotted out, nor collect tribute from Jerusalem. Therefore because of the sign and redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain shall praise thee &c.'

The sense of Josephus we will give in the words of Bishop (3) Chandler together with his reflections upon it. " Josephus's exposition of this text is so full in the point, that it ought not

(2) Habak. III. 17, 18. Et enim regnum Babel non permanebit, nec exercebit dominium in Israel; trucidabuntur reges Mediæ, et fortes Græciæ non prosperabuntur; debentur Romani, nec colligent tributum de Jerusalem. Itaque propter signum et redemptionem quæ facies Christo tuo et reliquiis populi tui, qui remanebunt consitebuntur dicendo &c.

(3) Defense of Christianity. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 104, &c. 3d Edit.

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. p. 1143. Edit. Hudson.

(5) τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἱερεῶν τις ἀπο δυνάως καθαιρήσει χαλκοὺς ἡμισφαιροῦς, καὶ ταύτην ἀλλὰ πάντων τὴν ἰσχύον ἁμοῖα Ἰερουζαλήμ, καὶ κράτησι δὲ εἰς ἀπάσαν διὰ τὴν τὴν Ἰερουζαλήμ φύσιν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν σφόδρα πλεονέκτην τῆς τῆς χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῆς χαλκοῦ. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς λίθου Δαυὶδ τῷ βασιλεὶ ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκ ἑδοξέ τοιοῦτο ἱστορεῖν, τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γινόμενα συγγραφῆναι, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐφιδροῦν.

“ not to be omitted. Josephus was born while
 “ Jesus Christ lived, and was, as he (4) says,
 “ skilful in the knowlege of the sacred books
 “ of the prophets, being himself a priest, and
 “ the son of a priest, and exercised this way.
 “ Hear then his sense of that part of the dream
 “ we have been upon. Daniel foretold, (5)
 “ that the second kingdom should be taken
 “ out of the way, by one that should come
 “ from the west clothed with brazen arms:
 “ and also that the strength of this (empire)
 “ another should put an end to, that should be
 “ like to iron, which from the nature of the
 “ mineral is superior to gold, silver, and brass.
 “ Daniel added his interpretation of the stone;
 “ but I don’t think fit to relate that; my bu-
 “ siness being only to give a history of *past and*
 “ *newly*

αἱ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας γλῶσσαι καὶ
 περιτταὶ πολυπραγμοί, ὡς καὶ
 περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐγενήθησαν βεβαίως
 μαθόντες, (πυδάσειν το βιβλίον ἀναγνώσαι
 τε Δανιὴλ) εὐρησὶ δὲ τέλο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 γραμμασιν. illorum autem impe-
 rium alius quidam ab occidente
 veniens destruet, ære totus obduc-
 tus; atque hujus vires alia vis
 debellabit ferro similis, easque
 in universum imperio premet
 propter ferri naturam, quod
 ea sit auro et argento et ære
 validior. Quin et Danielus

regi ostendit omnia de saxo:
 sed mihi ista narrare non libuit,
 cui id negotii datum est, ut præ-
 terita non futura litteris con-
 signarem. Si quis autem veri-
 tatis avidus nolit ab iis paulo
 curiosius inquirendis desistere,
 ut qui de incertis, an futura
 sint, scire desiderat, det operam
 ut Danieli librum perlegat,
 quem in sacrorum librorum co-
 dice inveniet. Joseph. Antiq.
 Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. p.
 457. Edit. Hudson.

“ *newly done things, not to write of future things.*
 “ Yet if there be any one that is eager after
 “ truth, and will not give over inquiring, in
 “ order to learn these obscure events that are
 “ to come, let him carefully read the book
 “ itself, which he will find among our sacred
 “ (or canonical) books. Upon this passage ob-
 “ serve, that the fourth empire is the Roman,
 “ in his judgment; because the third king-
 “ dom, which he begins in Alexander, was
 “ destroyed, not by the Greek generals, but
 “ by the Romans. Again, the fourth empire
 “ he reckons to be past, i. e. to be set up in
 “ the room of the Greek, and therefore he
 “ gives an historical explication of that, among
 “ the past events. But the kingdom of the
 “ *stone* being future, he refuses to touch on
 “ that. But he had a better reason than he
 “ gave: he feared to offend the power in being,
 “ whose protection he needed, and which, he
 “ foresaw, must be offended, if he should
 “ publish the hope of his captive nation, one
 “ day to subdue their conquerors. We see
 “ however, in his excuse for stopping short,
 “ his sense of the prophecy that is yet unfulfilled,
 “ viz. that the kingdom of the God of heaven
 “ should break in pieces the Roman; and
 “ which he must consequently suppose will
 “ continue,

“ continue, till it gives place to the everlasting
 “ kingdom of the Messiah. And in this belief
 “ Christ confirmed the Jews, at the time he
 “ warned them of their own excision. *The*
 “ *kingdom of God*, saith he, (Mat. XXII. 43,
 “ 44.) or all the advantages of the Messiah’s
 “ coming, *shall be taken from you and given to*
 “ *a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.* For
 “ *whosoever shall fall against this stone* (as one of
 “ your prophets predicted, II. VIII. 14, 15.)
 “ *shall be broken : but,* I add from another pro-
 “ phet (Dan. II. 34, 35.) something more
 “ grievous for those that shall break you, *on*
 “ *whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to*
 “ *powder.* The kingdom of the *stone* shall
 “ bruise the Jews that stumbled at Christ’s
 “ first coming ; but the kingdom of the *moun-*
 “ *tain*, when manifested, shall beat the feet
 “ of the monarchical statue to dust, and leave
 “ no remains of the fourth monarchy in its last
 “ and degenerate state.”

The same notion was prevalent among the
 ancient Christians, as well as among the Jews.
 St. Jerome and all the fathers, who have occa-
 sion to comment upon this passage, give the
 same interpretation : but we love not to multiply
 quotations ; it will be sufficient to produce
 the testimonies of that eloquent preacher
 St.

St. Chrysostom, and of that elegant historian Sulpicius Severus. St. Chrysostom is too copious to be quoted at large; we must content ourselves with some extracts out of him.

‘ For what reason, (6) saith he, doth he call
 ‘ Nebuchadnezzar’s kingdom of gold, and that
 ‘ of the Persians of silver, and that of the
 ‘ Macedonians of brass, and that of the Ro-
 ‘ mans of iron and clay? See the materials rightly
 ‘ disposed; for gold represents riches &c; so
 ‘ likewise was that kingdom——and it occu-
 ‘ pies the head, because it appeared the first.
 ‘ But that of the Persians was not so wealthy,
 ‘ as

(6) τινος δ' ἐκινῇ τὴν αὐτὴ βα-
 σίλειαν καλεῖ χρυσὴν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
 Περσῶν ἀργύρεαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Μα-
 κεδονίων χαλκὴν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ρω-
 μαίων σιδηρὰν καὶ οὐρανίην; ὅρα
 καὶ ἀλλήλους τὰς ὕλας. ὁ γὰρ χρυ-
 σὸς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐστὶ ἐμφαντικόν——
 ἔτω καὶ ἐκείνη ἡ βασιλεία——
 κεφαλὴν δὲ ἐπεχει, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτῃ
 ἐφαντῇ. ἡ δὲ Περσῶν ἐκ ἐτὸς εὐ-
 ποροῦ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἡδὲ Μακεδονίᾳ,
 ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων χρησιμώτερα τε καὶ
 ισχυρώτερα, ὑστερὰ μὲν τοῖς χρυ-
 σοῖς, οὖτο καὶ ποδῶν τάξιν ἐπεχει.
 ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν αὐθιγὰ, τὰ
 δὲ ισχυρώτερα. Quare autem reg-
 num Nabuchodonosoris vocat
 aureum, Persarum autem ar-
 genteum, Macedonum æreum,
 Romanorum ferreum atque tes-
 taceum? Vide dispositas con-

venienter materias. Nam au-
 rum divitias quidem represen-
 tat——Sic et regnum Babylo-
 nium——Caput autem occu-
 pat; quia regnum illud fuit
 primum. Persarum vero impe-
 rium non adeo opulentum fuit;
 sicut nec Macedonum: at Ro-
 manorum utilius ac fortius;
 tempore quidem posterius, qua-
 re et pedum locum obtinet.
 Porro sunt hujus regni quædam
 infirma, et quædam robustiora:
 ——καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασι-
 λεῶν ἐκείνων ἀναστρεφὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐρα-
 νῆν βασιλείαν, ἥτις ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίας ἔ-
 διαφθαρήσκει· καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτῷ
 λαῷ ἑτέρῳ ἐκ ὑποληφθούσης ληψίται
 καὶ λικμησὶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας·
 καὶ αὕτη ἀναστρεφεται εἰς τὴν αἰῶ-
 νος. ἀγε μοι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν εἰλάθαι.

as neither was that of the Macedonians : but
 that of the Romans was both more useful and
 stronger, and later in time, wherefore it oc-
 cupies the place of the feet. But some parts
 of this kingdom are weak, and others are
 stronger.—*And in the days of those kings*
shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which
shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall
not be left to other people, but it shall break in
pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it
shall stand for ever. Bring hither to me the
 Jews. What will they say concerning this
 prophecy? for it is by no means right to say
 of

τι αν ειποιεν περι της προφητειας ταυ-
 της; η γαρ δηπε περι ανθρωπινης
 ταυτα δεμις ειπειν, οτι απειρο εσται
 η βασιλεια — ειταις ημεραις
 των βασιλευν εκεινων, των Ρωμαιων
 δηλονε. αλλως δε ει λεγοιεν, και πως
 τον χρυσον συνιρησε, την Βαβυλων-
 νιον βασιλειαν παλαι καλασκειασθει-
 σαι [καλασκειασθισαν]; πως δε
 τον αργυρον, την Περσων; πως δε
 τον χαλκον, την Μακεδωνων; ταυτα
 γαρ παλαι εγενετο, και τελειω-
 ειν. — των τας ηδη σβεσ-
 θισας βασιλειας καθαιρει; αλλα
 το καθαιρειν ιτερας εν αις αι τοιαυται
 ειναι, εικολως εμποναι. *Et in die-*
bus regum illorum suscitabit Deus
cæli regnum, quod in sæcula non
corrumpetur: et regnum ejus po-
pulo alteri non relinquetur: com-
minuet et ventilabit universa
regna: et ipsum exsurgat in sæ-

cula. Adducito mihi huc Ju-
 dæos. Quid de hic prophetia
 dicturi sunt? Neque enim pro-
 fecto de humano regno hæc fās
 est dicere; scilicet regnum infi-
 nitum fore — *In diebus regum*
illorum; Romanorum videlicet.
 Quod si dicant: quomodo au-
 rum conterere potuit, nempe
 regnum Babyloniorum, quod
 jam olim erat destructum? Quo-
 modo etiam argentum, nimi-
 rum regnum Persarum? Et
 quomodo æs, scilicet regnum
 Macedonum? Hæc enim quon-
 dam fuerant, et finem accepe-
 rant. — Quomodo jam ex-
 tincta regna destruat? Quia
 nimirum destruit alia regna, in
 quibus hæc continentur. S. Jo.
 Chrysost. in Daniele. p. 214 et
 216. Tom. 6. Edit. Benedict.

‘ of any human kingdom, that it shall be
 ‘ everlasting or without end.—*In the days of*
 ‘ *those kings*, to wit the Romans. But if they
 ‘ say how can he break in pieces the gold, the
 ‘ kingdom of the Babylonians destroyed long
 ‘ ago? how the silver, the kingdom of the
 ‘ Persians? how the brass, the kingdom of the
 ‘ Macedonians? for these are past long ago,
 ‘ and are come to an end——how can he de-
 ‘ stroy kingdoms which are already destroyed?
 ‘ But to destroy others in which these are in-
 ‘ cluded, amounts to the same thing.’

Sulpicius Severus having given an account
 of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, and of all the
 particulars relating to it, subjoins (7) an exposi-
 tion of it, agreeable to Daniel’s interpretation.

‘ The image is an emblem of the world. The
 ‘ golden head is the empire of the Chaldæans;
 ‘ forasmuch as that was the first and most
 ‘ wealthy. The breast and arms of silver sig-
 ‘ nify

(7) Igitur secundum prophe-
 tæ interpretationem imago visa,
 figuram mundi gerit. Caput
 aureum, Chaldæorum imperium
 est: siquidem id primum, et o-
 pulentissimum fuisse accepimus.
 Pectus et brachia argentea se-
 cundum regnum annunciant.
 Cyrus enim, victis Chaldæis at-
 que Medis, imperium ad Persas
 contulit. In ventre æreo, ter-

tium regnum portendi pronun-
 ciatur: idque impletum vide-
 mus. Siquidem Alexander e-
 reptum Persis imperium Mace-
 doniæ vindicavit. Crura ferrea,
 imperium quartum: idque Ro-
 manum intelligitur, omnium
 ante regnorum validissimum.
 Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim
 fideles, dividendum esse Roma-
 num regnum, ita ut nunquam
 inter

nify the second kingdom; For Cyrus, the
 Chaldæans and Medes being overcome, trans-
 ferred the empire to the Persians, In the
 brazen belly the third kingdom is declared
 to be portended; and that we see fulfilled;
 Forasmuch as the empire taken from the Per-
 sians Alexander vindicated to Macedonia, The
 iron legs are the fourth kingdom: and that
 is the Roman, the strongest of all the king-
 doms before it. But the feet part of iron
 and part of clay, prefigure the Roman em-
 pire to be so divided as that it should never
 unite again: which is equally fulfilled——
 Forasmuch as the Roman territory is occu-
 pied by foreign nations or rebels;——and
 we see (saith he, and he lived at the begin-
 ning of the (8) fifth century) barbarous
 nations mixed with our armies, cities, and
 provinces——But in the stone cut out
 without hands, which brake in pieces the
 gold

inter se coëat, præfigurant: quod æque impletum est,——

Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum:——exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes——videmus.——In lapide vero

sine manibus abscisso, qui aurum, argentum, æs, et ferrum testamque comminuit, Christi figuram esse, Is enim mundum

istum, in quo sunt regna terrarum, in nihilum rediget, regnumque aliud incorruptum confirmabit. De quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo est, non credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convincantur. Sulpicii Sacr. Hist. Lib. 2, p. 66, 67. Edit. Elzevir, 1656.

(8) Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. 1, p. 374.

F f 2

(9) Sen-

‘ gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the
 ‘ clay, we have a figure of Christ. For he
 ‘ shall reduce this world, in which are the
 ‘ kingdoms of the earth, to nothing, and shall
 ‘ establish another everlasting kingdom. Of
 ‘ which alone the faith of some is still dubious,
 ‘ and they will not credit future things, when
 ‘ they are convinced of the past.’

Nay Grotius himself, the great patron of the other opinion, that the fifth kingdom is the Roman empire, commenting upon those words (ver. 45.) *it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold*, cannot but acknowledge that (9) the sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Corinth. XV. 24. that *he shall put down all rule, and all authority, and power.*

Thus it pleased God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest and most signal events of this world. As Daniel said unto Nebuchadnezzar, (ver. 45.) *The great God hath made known to the king what shall*

(9) Sensus sublimior, Christum finem impositurum omnibus imperiis terrestribus, 1 Cor. XV. 24. Grot. in locum.

(1) εἰς Ναβουχοδρονσορῶν, ὃ Βαβυλωνιοί, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προσγιγνώσκουσιν, τὴν ὃ τε Βελῶν ἐμὲ

προβλεπόμενος, ἢ τε βασιλείαν Βηλῆος ἀποτρέψαι μοιρας πεισσαι ἀσθενειαν. ἡξει Περσῆς ἡμετέρος, τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρωμένους Συμμαχοῖσιν ἐπαξίαι δὲ δειλοσύνην. ὃ δὲ Συναίσιος ἐστὶ Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσυρίων ἀνέχοντα. Ego Nabucodrosorus, O Babylonii, immi-

shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure. The king hearing his dream related with such exactness, might be better assured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which should follow. And from hence we are enabled in some measure to account for Nebuchadnezzar's prophesying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the history of the Assyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his history is lost: but there is a fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, wherein it is asserted upon the authority of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inspired, and prophesied in (1) this manner: 'I Nebuchadnezzar foretel unto you, O Babylonians, an imminent calamity, which neither Belus my progenitor, nor queen Beltis can persuade the fates to avert: A Persian mule shall come assisted by your demons, and impose servitude upon you; whose coadjutor shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians.' And soon after he

imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuncio, quam Parcis uti averruncet, nec Belus generis nostri auctor, nec regina Beltis persuadere unquam poterunt. Persicus veniet mulus, qui dæmonum vestrorum usus auxilio,

durum cervicibus vestris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Assyrii magnopere gloriabantur. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 41. p. 456. Edit. Vigeri.

he died. Herodotus, who was a much older historian than Megasthenes, relates that a Delphic oracle was given to Cræsus king of Lydia, that (2) when a mule should rule over the Medes, then he should not be ashamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian priestess; (3) Cyrus was this mule; for he was born of parents of different nations, the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for she was a Mede, and the daughter of the king of the Medes, but he was a Persian, and subject to the Medes. If any credit is to be given to these stories, if any such prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any such oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Persians subduing Asia, the notion, the tradition may very well be supposed to have been derived originally from this prophecy of Daniel, which being so solemnly delivered to a great king, and published in Chaldec, might come to be generally known in the east: and the event soon afterwards evinced the truth of it.

It

(2) Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς
Μηδοῖσι γένῃται.

Καὶ τότε κ. τ. λ.

Regis apud Medos mulo jam
sede potito,

Lyde fugam &c.

Herod. Lib. 1. Cap. 55. p. 21.
Edit. Gale.

(3) ἢ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κυρὸς ἐστὶ
ἡμῶν· εἰ γὰρ δύοι ἐκ ὁμοῦ γεν-
εργοντι, μητρὸς ἀμεινοῦ, πα-
τὸς δὲ υποδισσεῖν. ἢ γὰρ
ἢ

It was from this prophecy too, that the distinction first arose of the four great empires of the world, which hath been followed by most historians and chronologers in their distribution of times. These four empires, as they are the subject of this prophecy, are likewise the subject of the most celebrated pens both in former and in later ages. The histories of these empires are the best writ, and the most read of any; they are the study of the learned, and the amusement of the polite; they are of use both in schools, and in senates; we learn them when we are young, and we forget them not when we are old; from hence examples, instructions, laws and politics are derived for all ages; and very little in comparison is known of other times, or of other nations. Not but there have been empires as great or greater than some of these, as those of the Tartars for instance, and of the Saracens, and of the Turks; and you may think perhaps, that they are as well deserving of a place in this succession of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the

ἡ Μήδης, καὶ Ἀρναίῃς. ὧσαίη
 τῇ Μηδῶν βασιλεῦς· ὁ δὲ, Περσῆς
 τὴν, καὶ ἀρχομένην ὑπὸ κρανοῖσι.
 Nam mulus hic, Cyrus erat:
 quippe qui duobus diversarum
 gentium parentibus ortus sit,

generosiore matre quam patre.
 Nam illa quidem, Medea erat,
 Astyagis Medorum regis filia:
 hic autem, Persa, et Medis sub-
 jectus. Herod. ibid. Cap. 91.
 p. 39.

F f 4

(1) Lowth's

the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But these four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were subject to each of them in their turns. They were therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as I may say) extending from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and complete establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah. He who is arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the universe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaseth: and he hath revealed enough to manifest his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel said upon the first discovery of these things, well may we say after the completion of so many particulars: (ver. 20, 21, 22.) *Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowlege to them that know understanding. He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.*

XIV. DANIEL'S



XIV.

DANIEL'S *vision of the same.*

WHAT was revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed unto Daniel with some enlargements and additions in the first year of Belshazzar, that is about eight and forty years afterwards. But there is this difference, that what was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts. The reason of which is ingeniously assigned by Grotius, and after him by (1) Mr. Lowth, "that this image appeared with
 " a glorious lustre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whose mind was wholly taken
 " up with admiration of worldly pomp and
 " splendor; whereas the same monarchies were
 " represented to Daniel under the shape of
 " fierce

(1) Lowth's Comment. on Chap. II. 31. Grotius *ibid.*

(2) See

“ fierce and wild beasts, as being the great
 “ supporters of idolatry and tyranny in the
 “ world.”

Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. *These great beasts, which are four,* (says the angel ver. 17.) *are four kings*, or kingdoms, as it is translated in the vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions, and as the angel himself explains it, (ver. 23.) *The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth.* They arise out of a stormy and tempestuous sea, that is out of the wars and commotions of the world: and they are called *great* in comparison of other lesser states and kingdoms, as they are denominated *beasts* for their tyrannical and cruel oppressions and depredations. These beasts are indeed monstrous productions; a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in the mouth of it, a leopard with four wings and four heads, and a beast with ten horns: but such emblems and hieroglyphics were usual among the eastern nations; a winged lion and such like fictitious animals may still be seen in the (2) ruins of Persopolis; horns are attributed to beasts, which naturally have none; and these figures were, as I may say, the arms and symbols

(2) See Sir John Chardin and other travelers.

(3) Regnum

symbols of such and such nations, and are no stranger than several which are still used in modern heraldry. We will consider them in order, and take notice only of such interpretations as carry in them something probable and plausible, to the end that we may establish what is more certain. To recite all the various opinions of commentators would be but heaping up a monument of the absurdities of former ages. We may collect something from one, and something from another, and yet in all respects perfectly agree with none.

I. The first kingdom is represented by a Beast, (ver. 4.) *that was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.* This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is in like manner compared to a lion by Jeremiah, (IV. 7.) *The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way; and he is said to fly as an eagle, (XLVIII. 40.) Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab; and he is also compared to an eagle by Ezekiel, (XVII. 3, et 12.) Thus saith the Lord God, A great eagle with great wings &c.* The lion is esteemed the king

king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds : and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is described as the first and noblest kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is said to partake of the nature of both. Instead of a *lion*, the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions have a *lioneſs* ; and it is (3) Jerome's observation, that the kingdom of Babylon for its cruelty is compared not to a lion, but to a *lioneſs*, which naturalists say is the fiercer of the two.

The *eagle's wings* denote its swiftness and rapidity : and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to the highth within a few years by a single person, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said, *the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth*, that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly understood, and as it is translated in almost all the (4) ancient versions : or it may be rendered thus, *the wings thereof were pluckt wherewith* it

(3) Regnum Babylonium propter ſævitiam et crudelitatem,—non leo, ſed læna appellatur. Aiunt enim hi qui de beſtiarum ſcripſere naturis lænas eſſe ferocioreſ, &c. Hieron. Comment. in locum.

Vol. 3. p. 1099. Edit. Benedict.

(4) *Et ſublata eſt*, inquit, *de terra* ; ſubverſio videlicet impio [imperio] Chaldæorum. Hieron. ibid. *καὶ ἐκρῖνεν αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς*. Sept. Videbam evulſas eſſe

it was lifted up from the earth, as (5) Grotius explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our bibles, the conjunction copulative sometimes supplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be pluckt at the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for at this time the Medes and Persians were incroaching upon it; Belshazzar the king now reigning was the last of his race; and in the (6) seventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

And it was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. It is not easy to say what is the precise meaning of this passage; unless it be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his madness (IV. 6.) *a beast's heart was given unto him*, and after he was restored to his senses, *a man's heart was given to him* again. What appears most probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people become more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as if they had been gods,

now

esse alas ejus, et ab humo sublata. Syriac. et egressa est de terra. Arab.

(5) *Et sublata est de terra.* Verte: *per quas efferebatur supra terram.* Sæpe enim Chaldæis,

ut et Hebræis, copula vim habet relativi. Grot. in locum.

(6) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 4. p. 462. Edit. Hudson. Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

(7) Bocharti

now felt themselves to be but men. They were brought to such a sense as the Psalmist wisheth such persons to have, (Psal. IX, 20.) *Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men.*

II. The second kingdom is represented (ver. 5.) by *another beast like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.* This is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians: and for their cruelty and greediness after blood they are compared to a *bear*, which is a most voracious and cruel animal. The very learned (7) Bochart recounts several particulars, wherein the Persians resembled bears; but the chief likeness consisted in what I have mentioned; and this likeness was principally intended by the prophet, as I think we may infer from the words of the text itself, *Arise, devour much flesh.* A bear, saith Aristotle, is an all-devouring animal: and so, saith (8) Grotius, the Medo-Persians were great robbers and spoilers according to Jeremiah (LI. 48, 56.)

And

(7) Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Col. 816, &c.

(8) Ursus *ῥομφαία* [animal omnia vorans] ait Aristoteles VIII. 5. Sic Medopersæ

raptores magni, prædones, Jeremiae LI. 48, 56, Grot. in locum.

(9) Ergo tres ordines in ore regni Persiarum, et in dentibus ejus, tria regna debemus accipere

And it raised up itself on one side, or as it is in the margin, it raised up one dominion; for the Persians were subject to the Medes at the conquest of Babylon, but soon after raised up themselves above them. And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: these (9) Jerome understands of the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom; and so likewise Vatablus and Grotius: but (1) Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Chandler with greater propriety explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but were not properly parts and members of its body. They might be called *ribs*, as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian empire; and they might be said to be *between the teeth of the bear*, as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians.

And they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh: this was said, as it was before observed, to denote the cruelty of the Medes and Persians. They are also represented very cruel by the prophet

pere, Babyloniorum, Medorum, atque Persarum; quæ in unum redacta sunt regnum. Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p. 1100. Edit. Benedict. Vatablus et Grotius in locum.

(1) Sir H. Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 4. p. 29. Bishop Chandler's Vindication Book 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 198.

prophet Ifaiah, (XIII. 18.) *Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.* Cambyfes, Ochus, and others of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians, who have written of their affairs, from Herodotus down to Ammianus Marcellinus, (2) who describes them proud, cruel, exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. They pull off the skins, says he, from men alive by pieces or all together: and they have abominable laws, by which for one man's offense all the neighbourhood is destroyed. Well therefore might a learned (3) French commentator say, that the Persians have exercised the most severe, and the most cruel dominion that we know of. The punishments used among them beget horror in those who read of them.

III. The third kingdom is represented (ver. 6.)

(2) Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel solidas. —Leges apud eos—abominandæ—per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit. Amm.

Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 6. p. 384. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

(3) Les Perses ont exercé la domination la plus sévère, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoisse. Les supplices usitez parmi eux font horreur à ceux qui les lisent. Calmet in Dan.

(4) Maculas

6.) by *another beast like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.* This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who under the command of Alexander the great overcame the Persians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a *leopard* upon several accounts. The leopard is remarkable for swiftness; *their horses* (saith the prophet Habbakuk, I. 8.) *are swifter than the leopards:* and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly swift and rapid in their conquests. The leopard is a spotted animal: and so was a proper emblem, according to (4) Bochart, of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or, according to (5) Grotius, of the various manners of Alexander himself, who was sometimes merciful, and sometimes cruel; sometimes temperate, and sometimes drunken; sometimes abstemious, and sometimes incontinent. The leopard, as (6) Bochart observes, is of small stature,

(4) Maculas pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diversi mores. Bochart. Hierozoic. Pars prior. Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Col. 789.

(5) Pardus varium animal. Sic Alexander moribus variis; modo clemens, modo crudelis;

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modo victus temperati, modo ebrius; modo abstinens, modo indulgens amoribus. Grot. in locum.

(6) Ut pardus staturâ parvus est, sed animo et robore maxime præstans, ita ut cum leone et procerissimis quibusque feris

G g

congrédi

stature, but of great courage, so as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largest beasts; and so Alexander, a little king in comparison, of small stature too, and with a small army, dared to attack the king of kings, that is Darius, whose kingdom was extended from the Ægean sea to the Indies. Others have pursued the comparison farther, but with more subtilty than solidity; for I conceive the principal point of likeness was designed between the swiftness and impetuosity of the one and the other.

For the same reason the beast *had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl*. The Babylonian empire was represented with *two* wings, but this is described with *four*. For, as (7) Jerome saith, nothing was swifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries, from Illyricum and the Adriatic sea to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not so much fighting as conquering, and in *six* years (he should have said in *twelve*) subjugated
part

congrédi non vereatur: Sic Alexander penè regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi ausus est, id est, Darium, cujus regnum a mari Ægæo usque ad Indos extendebatur. Bochart. ibid.

(7). Nihil enim Alexandri victoria velocius fuit, qui ab Illyrico, et Adriatico mari usque ad Indicum oceanum, et Gangem fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in sex annis partem Europæ, et omnem

part of Europe, and all Asia to himself. *The beast had also four heads*: to denote the four kingdoms into which this same third kingdom should be divided, as it was divided into four kingdoms after the death of Alexander, (8) his four captains Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. *And dominion was given to it*; which sheweth, as (9) Jerome saith, that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And indeed unless he had been directed, preserved, and assisted by the mighty power of God, how could Alexander with thirty thousand men have overcome Darius with six hundred thousand, and in so short a time have brought all the countries from Greece as far as to India into subjection?

IV. The fourth kingdom is represented (ver. 7.) by a *fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth*;

omnem sibi Asiam subjugavit.
Hieron. Comment. Vol. 3. p.
1100. Edit. Benedict.

(8) See Prideaux Connect.
Part 1. B. 8. Anno 301. Ptole-
my Soter 4.

(9) Quodque additur, *Et
potestas data est ei*, ostendit, non
Alexandri fortitudinis, sed Do-
mini voluntatis fuisse. Hieron.
ibid.

teeth: it devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was divers from all the beasts that were before it. Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean; (ver. 19.) Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was divers from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. And he was answered thus by the angel; (ver. 23.) The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire; for it is as absurd, as it is singular, to pretend to reckon the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ in Syria and of the Lagidæ or Ptolemies in Egypt as the fourth kingdom. Calmet himself (1) acknowledgeth, that this is usually explained of the Roman empire; and tho' for reasons of church, as well as reasons of state, he may prefer the other hypothesis, yet it is ' without pretending to ' destroy the system which understands the ' fourth

(1) On l'explique ordinairement de l'empire Romain. —

—sans prétendre pour cela détruire le système qui entend le quatrième

THE PROPHECIES.

‘ fourth empire of the Roman, and which, as
 ‘ he confesseth, is the most commonly received
 ‘ among interpreters.’

The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the
 Lagidæ can in no respect answer to this de-
 scription of the fourth beast or kingdom. It is
 described as *dreadful, and terrible, and strong*
exceedingly: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ
 and of the Seleucidæ were *less* terrible, and *less*
 strong than any of the former kingdoms. It
devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the
residue, that is the remains of the former king-
 doms, *with the feet of it*: but the Lagidæ and
 the Seleucide were almost continually at war
 with each other; and instead of subduing other
 kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was
divers from all kingdoms, that is of a different
 nature and constitution of government: but
 Egypt and Syria were governed much in the
 same manner as the former kingdoms, and
 were equally absolute monarchies. Of the
 fourth kingdom it is said, *that it shall devour*
the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and
break it in pieces: but this can never be applied
 to the kings of Egypt and Syria, who were so
 far

quatrième empire, de l'empire romain, et qui est le plus com-
 munément reçu parmi les inter-
 prètes. Calmet in locum.

far from enlarging their dominions, that they could not preserve what was left them by their ancestors.

Wherefore (2) Jerome rightly concluded, that ‘ the fourth empire which now possesseth the world, is the Roman, whereof it is said in the statue, *his legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay*; and yet he mentions now the iron in part, attesting that it had great iron teeth. And I greatly wonder, saith he, that when he had before placed a lion, and a bear, and a leopard in three kingdoms, he should compare the Roman empire to no beast: unless perhaps that he might make the beast more formidable, he concealed the name; so that whatsoever we could imagin the most fierce in beasts, that we should understand the Romans to be.’ The fourth beast was so great and horrible, that it was not easy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was *dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly*, beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was *divers from all kingdoms*, not only

(2) Quantum quod nunc orbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanum est, de quo in statua dicitur: *Tibia ejus ferrea: pedam quædam pars ferrea, quædam scilicet*; et tamen ipsius ferri ex

parte nunc meminit, dentes ejus ferreos et magnos esse confestans. Satisque mirror, quod quum supra leonem, et ursum, et pardum, in tribus regnis posuerit, Romanum regnum nulli bestię

only in its republican form of government, but likewise in strength, and power, and greatness, length of duration, and extent of dominion. *It devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it*; it reduced Macedon into a Roman province (3) about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that it might by a very usual figure be said, to *devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces*, and became in a manner what the Roman writers delighted to call it, *terrarum orbis imperium*, the empire of the whole world.

A Greek writer too, and he a grave and judicious historian, who flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, hath a remarkable passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. Speaking of the great superiority of the Roman empire to all former empires he saith, that the Persian was succeeded by the Macedonian, and the

bestiæ compararit; nisi forte ut
formidolosam faceret bestiam,
vocabulum tacuit; ut quicquid
ferocius cogitaverimus in bestiis
hoc Romanos intelligamus. Hi-

eron. Comment. Vol. 3. p.
1100. Edit. Benedict.

(3) See Usher, Prideaux, and
other chronologers.

the Macedonian by the Roman; so that he had no conception of Alexander's erecting one kingdom, and his successors another, but considered them both as one and the same kingdom. His words are, (4) 'The Macedonian empire ' having overturned the force of the Persians, ' in greatness indeed of dominion exceeded all ' the kingdoms which were before it: but yet ' it did not flourish a long time, but after the ' death of Alexander it began to grow worse ' and worse. For being immediately distracted ' into several principalities by his successors, ' and after them having strength to go on to ' the

(4) ἡ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ δυνα-
στεια, τὴν Περσῶν καθίλυσα ἰσχυρ-
μεγεθῆ μιν ἀρχῆς ἀπάσας ὑπερι-
βάλλουσα τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς· χρόνιον
δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ πολὺν κινήσεν, ἀλλὰ
μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν
ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἤρξατο φερεσθαι.
διασπασθεῖσα γὰρ εἰς πολλὰς
ἡγεμονίας [εἰς πολλὰς ἡγεμονίας
Sylb.] εὐθὺς ἀπὸ [ὑπο] τῶν
διαδοχῶν, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνης ἀκρι-
τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης ἰσχυροῦσα
προέλθειν γένεας, ἀσθενὲς αὐτὴ
δὲ ἑαυτῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ τελευτῶσα
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠφανίσθη. καὶ οὐδὲ
αὐτὴ μόντοι πάσαν ἐποιήσατο γῆν
τὴν καὶ θαλάσσαν ὑπήκοον. ὅτι
γὰρ Λίβιος· ὅτι μὴ τῆς πρῆ-
στον, πολλῆς ἐσχῆς ἐκρατή-

σει, ὅτι τὴν Εὐρώπην ὅλην ὑπέ-
γαγετο, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν βορείων
αὐτῆς μερῶν μέχρι Θρακίης προ-
ῆλθε, τῶν δὲ ἰσπεριῶν ἀκρι-
τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς κατέβη θαλάσσης.—ἡ δὲ
Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπάσης μὲν ἀρχῆς,
ὅση μὴ ἀνιμῶνται· ἐστίν, ἀλλ'
ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖται· πάσης
δὲ κρατεῖ θαλάσσης, ἢ μόνον τῆς
εὐτῆς Ἡρακλείων γῆλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῆς Ωκεαντικῆς, ὅση πλεῖσθαι μὴ
ἀδυνατῶν ἐστίν, πρῶτῃ καὶ μόνῃ
τῶν ἐκ τῆς παντῆς αἰῶνος μνημο-
νευομένων, αἰατοῦ καὶ δυσίος ὅρης
ποικισμένη τῆς δυναστείας· χρεῖται
αὐτῇ τῆς κράτους ἢ βραχέως, ἀλλ' ὅσοι
ἐδῆμια τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι πολλῶν ὅτι
βασιλείων. Imperium vero Macē-
donicum, fractis Perfarum opi-
bus,

the second or third generation, it was weakened by itself, and at last was destroyed by the Romans. And yet it did not reduce all the earth and sea to its obedience. For neither did it possess Africa, except that part adjoining to Egypt; neither did it subdue all Europe, but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace, and westwards it descended to the Adriatic sea. But the city of Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it is inhabited; and commands all the sea, not only that within the pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean, as far as it is navigable, having first

bus, imperii amplitudine omnia quotquot ante fuerant, superavit: sed ne ipsum quidem diu floruit, at post Alexandri obitum in pejus cæpit ruere. Statim enim in multos principes a successoribus distractam, et post illos ad secundam usque tertiamve ætatem progressum, ipsum per se debilitatum est, tandemque a Romanis deletum. Verum ne ipsum quidem omnes terras omniaque maria in suam ditionem redegit. Neque enim Africæ, quæ late patet, nisi partis Ægypto proximæ, potitum est: neque totam Europam subegit, sed ab ejus septentrionalibus partibus ad Thraciam usque pro-

cessit, ab occidentalibus vero usque ad Adriaticum mare descendit. — At res publica Romana totius terræ, quæ non est deserta, sed ab hominibus incolitur, imperium habet: et totius maris est domina, non solum ejus quod est intra columnas Herculis, sed et oceani quacunque navigari potest, primaque, et sola post hominum memoriam ortu et occasu fines imperii sui terminavit: easque potentia non ad exiguum tempus duravit, sed quantum nulli alii vel reipublicæ vel regno contigit. Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 1. p. 2 et 3. Edit. Hudson.

‘ and alone of all the most celebrated kingdoms, made the east and west the bounds of its empire: and its dominion hath continued not a short time, but longer than that of any other city or kingdom.’

2. Another remarkable property of this beast is (ver. 7.) that *it had ten horns*: and according to the angel’s interpretation (ver. 24.) *the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings or kingdoms that shall arise*. Four kings a little before (ver. 17.) signified *four kingdoms*: and so here *ten kings* are *ten kingdoms* according to the usual phraseology of scripture. And this is a farther argument, that the kingdoms of the Ligidæ and of the Seleucidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because they were never divided into so many parts. The Macedonian empire was divided a few years after the death of Alexander into four kingdoms, whereof Egypt and Syria were two; but these two were never again subdivided into ten lesser kingdoms. Porphyry therefore, who made two separate kingdoms of the kingdom of Alexander and his successors, contrary to the received interpretation of *kings* for *kingdoms*, reckons down to Antiochus

(5) — et deinde usque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sævissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratia, Macedoniae, Syriae, Asiae.

Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he supposeth to be the *little horn*, ten kings who were most cruel : but these kings, as (5) Jerome observes, were not all of one kingdom, of Macedonia for instance, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt ; but the list was made up out of the different kingdoms.

Grotius (6) indeed, and Collins after him, form their catalogue of the ten kings, who were very oppressive and cruel to the Jews, out of the kings of Egypt and Syria : and they thus enumerate them, five out of one kingdom, and five out of the other, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Eupator [I suppose he meant Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next after Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and next before Ptolemy Euergetes, being the son of the former, and the father of the latter] Ptolemy Euergetes, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the great, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. But it happens, that some of these kings did not persecute the Jews at all, as Seleucus Callinicus. Others were so far from persecuting them, that they were their patrons and protectors. Such were
Ptolemy

Asiæ, et Ægypti ; sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem. Hieron. Comment.

Vol. 3. p. 1130. Edit. Benedict.

(6) Grotius in locum. Scheme of literal prophecy &c. p. 162.

Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetes, and Antiochus the great: and such they are reckoned by (7) Josephus himself. So that out of the ten kings only *four* were persecutors and oppressors of the Jews. The ten horns too are represented as existing all at once; they shoot out and appear upon the head of the beast all together: but these kings were not all contemporaries, many of them were successive, and one fell before another arose. So forced and arbitrary is this exposition, and so contrary to the truth of history.

We must therefore look for the ten kings or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire. The Roman empire, as the (8) Romanists themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismember'd into ten kingdoms: and (9) Machiavel, little thinking what he was doing, (as Bishop Chandler observes) hath given us their names; 1. the Ostrogoths in Mœsia, 2. the Visigoths in Pannonia,

(7) Vide Antiq. Lib. 12. 1. and he refers likewise to Cap. 1, 2, 3. Contra Apion. Berengaud, Bossuet, and Du Lib. 2. Sect. 4 et 5. p. 1365. Pin. Edit. Hudson.

(9) Machiavel Hist. Flor. Lib. 1. Bishop Chandler's Vindication

nonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Heruli and Turingi in Italy, 8. the Saxons and Angles in Britain, 9. the Huns in Hungary, 10. the Lombards at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.

Mr. Mede, whom (1) a certain writer esteemed as a man divinely inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies, (2) reckons up the ten kingdoms thus in the year 456, the year after Rome was sacked by Genferic king of the Vandals: 1. the Britons, 2. the Saxons in Britain, 3. the Franks, 4. the Burgundians in France, 5. the Wisigoths in the south of France and part of Spain, 6. the Sueves and Alans in Galicia and Portugal, 7. the Vandals in Africa, 8. the Alemanes in Germany, 9. the Ostrogoths whom the Longobards succeeded, in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy, 10. the Greeks in the residue of the empire.

That excellent chronologer Bishop Lloyd exhibits the following (3) list of the ten kingdoms

dication &c. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 3. p. 253.

(2) Mede's Works. Book 3. p. 661.

(1) Monf. Jurieu, in the Preface to his Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies.

(3) Addenda to Lowth's Comment. p. 524.

(4) Sir

doms with the time of their rise: 1. Huns about A. D. 356. 2. Ostrogoths 377. 3. Wisigoths 378. 4. Franks 407. 5. Vandals 407. 6. Sueves and Alans 407. 7. Burgundians 407. 8. Herules and Rugians 476. 9. Saxons 476. 10. Longobards began to reign in Hungary Anno Dom. 526. and were seated in the northern parts of Germany about the year 483.

Sir Isaac Newton enumerates them (4) thus, 1. the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa, 2. the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain, 3. the kingdom of the Visigoths, 4. the kingdom of the Alans in Gallia, 5. the kingdom of the Burgundians, 6. the kingdom of the Franks, 7. the kingdom of the Britons, 8. the kingdom of the Huns, 9. the kingdom of the Lombards, 10. the kingdom of Ravenna.

The few variations in these accounts must be ascribed to the great disorder and confusion of the times, one kingdom falling, and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. As a learned (5) writer remarks, "all these kingdoms were variously divided either by conquest or inheritance. However,

" as

(4) Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 6. p. 47.

(5) Daubuz on Rev. XIII. 1. p. 559.

(6) Essay

“ as if that number of *ten* had been fatal in
 “ the Roman dominions, it hath been taken
 “ notice of upon particular occasions. As
 “ about A. 1240 by Eberard bishop of Saltzburg
 “ in the diet at Ratisbon. At the time of the
 “ Reformation they were also ten. So that the
 “ Roman empire was divided into *ten* in a
 “ manner, first and last.” Mr. Whiston, who
 published his essay on the Revelation of St.
 John in the year 1706, farther (6) observes,
 “ that as the number of the kingdoms, into
 “ which the Roman empire in Europe, agree-
 “ ably to the ancient prophecies, was originally
 “ divided A. D. 456, was exactly *ten*: so it is
 “ also very nearly returned again to the same
 “ condition; and at present is divided into ten
 “ grand or principal kingdoms or states.—For
 “ tho’ there are many more great kingdoms and
 “ dominions in Europe besides, yet are they
 “ out of the bounds of the old Roman empire,
 “ and so not so directly within our present
 “ inquiry.”

We would, for reasons which will hereafter
 appear to the attentive reader, fix these ten
 kingdoms at a different æra from any of the
 fore-

(6) Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 4.

(7) Sir

foregoing; and let us see how they stood in the eighth century. The principal states and governments then were 1. of the senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of choosing a new western emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemanes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain; 9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons in Britain. Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer: but, as (7) Sir Isaac Newton says, "whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number."

3. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to spring up among them another little horn. *I considered the horns*, saith Daniel, (ver. 8.) *and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots.* Daniel was eager to know (ver. 20.) *as of the ten horns*, so likewise *of the other which came*

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel. Chap. 6. p. 73.

(8) Gro-

came up, and before whom three fell. And he was informed by the angel, (ver. 24.) that as *the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings or kingdoms that should arise, so likewise that another shall rise after them, and he shall subdue three kings or kingdoms.* One absurdity generally produceth another: and (8) Grotius, in consequence of his former supposition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, supposeth also, that *the little horn* was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that *the three horns which were pluckt up before him* were his elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the son of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the same notion after Grotius, for Collins was only a retailer of scraps, and could not advance any thing of this kind of his own. But surely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the same time as *the little horn*, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an *eleventh* horn, distinct from the former ten. There were *three of the first horns* to be pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not all in his first catalogue

(8) Grotius and Collins *ibid.*

catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they *pluckt up by the roots* by Antiochus, or by his order. Seleucus was (9) poisoned by his treasurer Heliodorus, whose aim it was to usurp the crown to himself, before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hostage several years. Demetrius (1) lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopator (2) died king of Egypt almost thirty years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria: or if Ptolemy Philometor as is most probable) was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him (3) about eighteen years, and died in possession of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been set aside from the succession to the crown

(9) Appian in Syriac. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

(1) Appian ibid. p. 117. Edit. Steph. p. 188. Edit. Tollii. Justin. Lib. 34. Cap. 3. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. p. 548. Edit. Hudson.

(2) Ptolemy Philopator died Anno 204, Antiochus became

king Anno 175 before Christ. See Usher, Prideaux &c.

(3) Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164, Ptolemy Philometor Anno 146 before Christ. See Usher, Prid. &c.

(4) Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quos divideretur regnum illorum, super

crown of Syria. Neither doth Antiochus Epiphanes answer to the character of the little horn in other respects, and particularly in this. The little horn continues (ver. 21, 22, 26.) to reign till the second coming of Christ in glory; but Antiochus Epiphanes died about 164 years before his first coming in the flesh. These are all farther arguments to prove, that the *fourth beast* must needs signify the Roman empire, and that *the ten horns* represent the ten kingdoms into which that empire was divided, and therefore we must look for *the little horn* among them, and no where else: and that we may not be led away by modern prejudices, let us see whether the ancients will not afford us some light and direction.

Irenæus, a father who flourished in the second century, treating of the fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist, asserts that (4) Daniel respecting the end ' of the last kingdom, that
' is,

super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem nasci bestiarum: et alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicare a facie ejus—De quo et apostolus Paulus in secunda ad Thessalonicenses &c. Manifestius adhuc etiam de novissimo tempore, et de his qui sunt in

eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele visa sunt, &c. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 25, 26. p. 438. &c. Edit. Grabe.

‘ is, the last ten kings, among whom that
 ‘ kingdom should be divided, upon whom the
 ‘ son of perdition shall come, saith that ten
 ‘ horns shall grow on the beast, and another
 ‘ little horn shall grow up among them, and
 ‘ three of the first horns shall be rooted out
 ‘ before him. Of whom also Paul the apostle
 ‘ speaketh in his second epistle to the Thessalo-
 ‘ nians, calling him *the son of perdition*, and *the*
 ‘ *wicked one*. St. John, our Lord’s disciple,
 ‘ hath in the Apocalyps still more plainly signi-
 ‘ fied of the last time, and of these ten kings,
 ‘ among whom the empire that now reigneth
 ‘ shall be divided, explaining what the ten horns
 ‘ shall be, which were seen by Daniel.’

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who flourished about
 the

(5) Ταῦτα δὲ διδασκομέν, ἐκ
 ευρεσιλογούντες, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν θείων
 ἐκκλησιαζομένων γραφῶν, καὶ μα-
 λιστα ἐκ τῆς ἀρτίως ἀναβωσθισης
 τοῦ Δανιὴλ προφητείας μεμαθηκο-
 τες· καθὼς καὶ Γαβριὴλ ὁ Ἀρ-
 χαγγέλῳ ἐρμηνεύσει λεγὼν ἔτι
 τοῦ θύρου τοῦ τέταρτον, βασιλεῖα
 τέταρτη εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥτις
 ὑπερβῆι πάσας τὰς βασιλείας,
 ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ
 ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ παραδεδυκάσιν ἐξη-
 γηταί. πρῶτης γὰρ ἐπιστήμῃ γινο-
 μένης, τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας· καὶ
 δευτέρας, τῆς Μηδῶν καὶ Περσῶν.
 καὶ μετὰ ταύτας, τῆς Μακεδόνων,
 τρίτης· ἡ τέταρτη βασιλεῖα νῦν
 ἡ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι. οὗτα εἰξὺς ὁ Γα-
 βριὴλ ἐρμηνεύων φησὶ· τὰ δέκα
 κέρατα αὐτῆ, δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀνασ-
 τήσονται. καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστή-
 σεται βασιλεὺς ἑτέρος, ὃς ὑπε-
 ρίσει κακοῖς πάντας τὰς ἐμπροσ-
 θεῖν. ὁ μόνος φησὶ τὰς δέκα, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάντας τὰς προγεγονότας.
 Καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει·
 ὅλων καὶ [δὲ] ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα
 τῶν προτέρων, ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα
 τετῶν τὰς τρεῖς ταπεινῶν, πάν-
 τως ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν βασι-
 λεύσει· καὶ λόγος, φησὶ, πρὸς
 τοὺς ὑψίστους ἀληθεῖς. Hæc au-
 tem

the middle of the fourth century, speaking of Antichrist's coming in the latter times of the Roman empire, (5) saith, ' We teach these
 ' things not of our own invention, but having
 ' learned them out of the divine scriptures,
 ' and especially out of the prophecy of Daniel
 ' which was just now read; even as Gabriel
 ' the archangel interpreted saying thus; *the*
 ' *fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon*
 ' *earth, which shall exceed all the kingdoms:* but
 ' that this is the empire of the Romans, eccle-
 ' siastical interpreters have delivered. For the
 ' first that was made famous, was the king-
 ' dom of the Assyrians; and the second, was
 ' that of the Medes and Persians together; and
 ' after these the third, was that of the Mace-
 ' donians;

tem docemus, non comminif-
 centes, sed e scripturis divinis
 colligentes, et ex ea maxime,
 quæ nuper lecta est, ex Daniele
 propheta edocti: sicut Gabriel
 Archangelus interpretatus est,
 dicens sic: *Quarta bestia, quar-*
tum est regnum in terra, quod ma-
jus erit aliis omnibus regnis: hoc
 autem esse Romanorum, eccle-
 siastici interpretes tradiderunt.
 Primum enim erat regnum Af-
 syriorum: alterum Medorum si-
 mul et Persarum: tertium po-
 stea Macedonum: quartum est

nunc regnum Romanorum. De-
 inceptus vero Gabriel interpretans
 dicit: *Decem cornua ipsius, de-*
cem regna consurgent: post ista
alter consurget, qui omnes ante se
malis vincet: neque solum illos
 decem reges, sed omnes qui
 ante se fuerunt. *Et tres reges*
deprimet. Manifestum autem est,
 quod ex istis decem tres oppri-
 met, prorsus et ipsemet octavus
 regnet: et verba faciet contra
 Altissimum. Cyrill. Hieros.
 Catech. 15. Cap. 6. p. 211.
 Edit. Milles. Oxon.

‘ donians ; and the fourth kingdom, is now
 ‘ that of the Romans. Afterwards Gabriel
 ‘ interpreting saith, *Its ten horns are ten kings*
 ‘ *that shall arise ; and after them shall arise ano-*
 ‘ *ther king, who shall exceed in wickedness all*
 ‘ *before him ; not only the ten he saith, but also*
 ‘ *all who were before him. And he shall deprefs*
 ‘ *three kings :* but it is manifest that of the
 ‘ first ten he shall deprefs three, that he him-
 ‘ self may reign the eighth : and he shall speak
 ‘ words, saith he, against the most High.’

St. Jerome having refuted Porphyry’s no-
 tion of Antiochus Epiphanes being the little
 horn, (where by the way the passage appears
 to want much emendation) (6) concludes thus :
 ‘ Therefore let us say what all ecclesiastical
 ‘ writers have delivered, that in the latter days,
 ‘ when the empire of the Romans shall be
 ‘ destroyed, there will be ten kings, who shall
 ‘ divide it between them, and an eleventh
 ‘ shall arise, a little king, who shall subdue
 ‘ three of the ten kings, and the other seven
 ‘ shall

(6) Ergo dicamus quod om-
 nes scriptores ecclesiastici tra-
 diderunt : in consummatione
 mundi, quando regnum destru-
 endum est Romanorum, de-
 cem futuros reges, qui orbem
 Romanum inter se dividant :
 et undecimum surrecturum esse

regem parvulum, qui tres re-
 ges de decem regibus superatu-
 rus sit—Quibus interfectis, eti-
 am septem alii reges victori col-
 la submittent. Hieron. Com-
 ment. Vol. 3. p. 1101. Edit.
 Benedict.

(7) Qua-

‘ shall submit their necks to the conqueror.’ Theodoret speaketh much to the same purpose in his comment upon Daniel: and (7) St. Austin expressly approveth of Jerome’s interpretation. ‘ Those four kingdoms, saith he, some have expounded to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman. How properly they have done that, those who are desirous of knowing, may read the presbyter Jerome’s book upon Daniel, which is very accurately and learnedly written.’

The fathers, it appears by these instances, conceived that the fourth empire was the Roman, that the Roman empire was to be divided between ten kings, and that among them would arise Antichrist, who should root up three of the ten kings, and domineer over the other seven. At the same time it must be confessed, that these same fathers entertained strange wild notions concerning this Antichrist, (8) that he should be a Jew, that he should descend from the tribe of Dan, that he should

(7) *Quatuor illa regna expofuerunt quidam Affyriorum, Perfaram, Macedonum, et Romanorum. Quam vero convenienter id fecerint, qui noffe defiderant, legant prefbyteri Hieronymi librum in Daniele,* fatis diligenter eruditęque confcriptum. Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 20. Cap. 23. Tom. 7. p. 457. Edit. Benediſt. Ant.

(8) *Irenęi Lib. 5. Cap. 25 et 30. Cyrilli Hierof. Catech. 15. Cap. 7. — tres reges de*

should come from Babylon, that he should fix his residence in the temple at Jerusalem, that he should first subdue Egypt, and afterwards Libya and Ethiopia, which were the three horns that should fall before him. But it is no wonder that the fathers, nor indeed that any one should mistake in particularly applying prophecies, which had not then received their completion. The fathers might understand the prophecies so far as they were fulfilled, and might say with certainty which were the four great kingdoms of the world, that the fourth was the Roman, and that the Roman would be divided in the manner that Daniel had foretold. So far was plain and obvious, and so far they might proceed with safety: but when they ventured farther, and would define particularly who were the ten kings, and who was Antichrist, and who were the three kings that should fall before him, then they plunged out of their depth, and were lost in the abyss of error. Such prophecies can be explained only by the events, and these events were yet in the womb

decem regibus superaturus sit, id est, Ægyptiorum regem, et Africæ et Æthiopiar. Hieron. Comment. p. 1101. — nasciturus est de populo Judæorum, et

de Babylone venturus, primum superaturus est regem Ægypti, &c. et postea Libyas et Æthiopas superaturus, quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua supra

womb of time. Some other mistaken prophecies might lead the fathers into this interpretation. There is not the least foundation for it in this prophecy. On the contrary this prophecy might have instructed them better, and have taught them that as the western empire was to be divided into ten kingdoms, so the little horn should arise among them, and subdue three of them: and consequently the little horn could not arise in the east, he could not be a Jew, he could not come from Babylon, and neither could Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia be the three kingdoms which should fall before him.

Antichrist then (as the fathers delight to call him) or the little horn is to be sought among the ten kingdoms of the western Roman empire. I say of the western Roman empire, because that was properly the body of the fourth beast; Greece and the countries which lay eastward of Italy belonged to the third beast; for the former beasts were still subsisting, tho' their dominion was taken away. *As concerning the rest*

pra legimus. Idem in Cap. 11. p. 1128 et 1132. Edit. Benedict. Cum Jacob filios suos benediceret, talia dixit de isto Dan, ut de ipsa tribu existi-

metur exsurrecturus Antichristus. Augustin. Quæstiones in Jos. Lib. 6. Quæst. 22. p. 441. 3d Tom. Edit. Benedict. Antwerpæ.

(9) Sir

rest of the beasts, saith Daniel (ver. 12.) they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time. “ And there-

“ fore, as Sir Isaac (9) Newton rightly infers,
 “ all the four beasts are still alive, though the
 “ dominion of the three first be taken away.
 “ The nations of Chaldæa and Assyria are still
 “ the first beast. Those of Media and Persia
 “ are still the second beast. Those of Mace-
 “ don, Greece and Thrace, Asia minor, Sy-
 “ ria and Egypt, are still the third. And those
 “ of Europe, on this side Greece, are still the
 “ fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the
 “ third beast is confined to the nations on this
 “ side the river Euphrates, and the body of
 “ the fourth beast is confined to the nations
 “ on this side Greece; we are to look for all
 “ the four heads of the third beast, among the
 “ nations on this side the river Euphrates;
 “ and for all the eleven horns of the fourth
 “ beast, among the nations on this side of
 “ Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of
 “ the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the
 “ Greeks, we include no part of the Chal-
 “ dæans, Medes and Persians in those kingdoms,
 “ because

(9) Sir Is. Newton's Observ.
 on Daniel. Chap. 4. p. 31, 32.

(1) Comme le regne de l'An-

tichrist est encore éloigné, on ne peut pas montrer l'accomplissement des prophéties à son égard.

“ because they belonged to the bodies of the
 “ two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the
 “ Greek empire seated at Constantinople, among
 “ the horns of the fourth beast, because it
 “ belonged to the body of the third.” For
 the same reason, neither can the Saracen nor
 the Turk be the little horn or Antichrist, as
 some have imagined them to be; and neither
 do they come up to the character in other
 respects.

Let us therefore look for the little horn, as
 the prophecy itself directs us, among the other
 ten horns of the western Roman empire. If
 indeed it be true, as the Romanists pretend,
 that this part of the prophecy is not yet ful-
 filled, and that Antichrist will come only for
 a little time before the general judgment, it
 would be in vain to inquire who or what he is;
 we should split upon the same rock as the fa-
 thers have done; it would better become us
 to say with (1) Calmet, that ‘ as the reign of
 ‘ Antichrist is still remote, we cannot show the
 ‘ accomplishment of the prophecies with re-
 ‘ gard to him; we ought to content ourselves
 ‘ with considering the past, and comparing it
 ‘ with

égard. On doit se contenter prophète. Le passé est une as-
 de considérer le passé, et de le surance de ce qui doit arriver
 comparer avec les paroles du un jour. Calmet in locum.

(2) Ma-

‘ with the words of the prophet ; the past is
 ‘ an assurance of the future.’ But perhaps
 upon examination we shall see reason to con-
 clude with the generality of the protestants, that
 this part of the prophecy is fulfilled. We have
 seen already that the Roman empire was di-
 vided into ten horns or kingdoms, and among
 them possibly we may find another little horn
 or kingdom answering in all respects to the
 character here given. Machiavel himself will
 lead us by the hand ; for having shown how
 the Roman empire was broken and divided by
 the incursions of the northern nations, he (2)
 says “ About this time the bishops of Rome
 “ began to take upon them, and to exercise
 “ greater authority than they had formerly
 “ done. At first the successors of St. Peter
 “ were venerable and eminent for their mi-
 “ racles, and the holiness of their lives ; and
 “ their examples added daily such numbers
 “ to the christian church, that to obviate or
 “ remove the confusions which were then in
 “ the world, many princes turned Christians,
 “ and the emperor of Rome being converted
 “ among the rest, and quitting Rome, to hold
 “ his

(2) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence. B. 1. p. 6. of the English translation.

(3) Mede's

“ his residence at Constantinople ; the Roman
 “ empire (as we have said before) began to
 “ decline, but the church of Rome augmented
 “ as fast.” And so he proceeds to give an account, how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increased, first under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by the calling in of the Franks.

Here then is a little horn springing up among the other ten horns. The bishop of Rome was respectable as a bishop long before, but he did not become a *horn* properly, (which is an emblem of strength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to *rise after* the other, that is *behind them*, as the Greek translates it *οπισω αυτων*, and as (3) Mr. Mede explains it, so that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it overtopped them ; the word in the original signifying as well *behind* in place, as *after* in time ; as also *post* in Latin is used indifferently either of place or time. *Three of the first horns*, that is three of the first kings or kingdoms, were to be *pluckt up by the roots*, and to *fall before him*.

And

(3) Mede's Works. B. 4. Epist. 24. p. 778, &c.

(4) Sir

And these three, according to Mr. Mede,
“ were those whose dominions extended into
“ Italy, and so stood in his light : first, that of
“ the *Greeks*, whose emperor Leo Isaurus, for
“ the quarrel of image-worship, he excommu-
“ nicated, and made his subjects of Italy revolt
“ from their allegiance : secondly, that of the
“ *Longobards* (successors to the Ostrogoths)
“ whose kingdom he caused by the aid of the
“ Franks to be wholly ruined and extirpated,
“ thereby to get the exarchate of Ravenna
“ (which since the revolt from the Greeks the
“ Longobards were seized on) for a patrimony
“ to St. Peter : thirdly, the last was the king-
“ dom of the *Franks* itself, continued in the
“ empire of Germany ; whose emperors from
“ the days of Henry the fourth he excommu-
“ nicated, deposed and trampled under his
“ feet, and never suffered to live in rest, till he
“ made them not only to quit their interest in
“ the election of popes and investitures of bi-
“ shops, but that remainder also of jurisdiction
“ in Italy, wherewith together with the Roman
“ name he had once infeoffed their predeces-
“ sors. These were the kings by displanting
“ or (as the Vulgar hath) *humbling* of whom
“ the pope got elbow-room by degrees, and
“ advanced himself to that highth of temporal
“ majesty

“ majesty and absolute greatness, which made
 “ him so terrible in the world.”

Sir Isaac Newton reckons them up with some variation. “ Kings, (4) saith he, are put for
 “ kingdoms, as above ; and therefore the little
 “ horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of
 “ the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his
 “ first horns ; and therefore we are to look for
 “ it among the nations of the Latin empire,
 “ after the rise of the ten horns.——In the
 “ eighth century, by rooting up and subdu-
 “ ing the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the kingdom
 “ of the *Lombards*, and the senate and duke-
 “ dom of *Rome*, he acquired Peter’s patrimony
 “ out of their dominions ; and thereby rose
 “ up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of
 “ the fourth beast.” Again. “ It was certainly
 “ by the victory of the see of Rome over the
 “ *Greek* emperor, the king of *Lombardy*, and
 “ the senate of *Rome*, that she acquired Peter’s
 “ patrimony, and rose up to her greatness.”

In both these schemes there is something to
 be approved, and something perhaps to be
 disapproved. In Mr. Mede’s plan it is to be
 approved, that the three kingdoms which he
 pro-

(4) Sir Isaac Newton’s *Observ. on Daniel*, Chap. 7. p. 74,
 et 75, et 76.

propoſeth, are mentioned in his firſt table of the ten kingdoms ; but then it may be queſtioned, whether the kingdom of the Franks or Germans in Italy can be ſaid properly to have been *pluckt up by the roots* through the power or policy of the popes. There were indeed long ſtruggles and conteſts between the popes and emperors ; but did the pope ever ſo totally prevail over the emperors, as to *exſtirpate* and *eradicate* them out of Italy, (for ſo the (5) original word ſignifies) and to ſeiſe and annex their dominions to his own ? I recollect no period when the pope diſpoſſeſſed the emperor of all his Italian dominions, and united them to the eſtates of the church, and enjoyed them as ſuch for any time. The emperor poſſeſſeth dominions in Italy to this day. In Sir Iſaac Newton's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he propoſeth, were *pluckt up by the roots*, were totally ſubdued by the popes, and poſſeſſed as parts of Peter's patrimony : but then it may be objected, that only two of the three are mentioned in his firſt catalogue of the ten kingdoms, the ſenate and dukedom of Rome being not included in the number. There were not

(5) עקר Evellere, exſtirpare, eradicare. Buxtorf.

(6) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ann. 753—755. Abregé

Chronologique par Mezeray, Pepin, Roy 22. Platina's Lives of the Popes tranſlated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut in Stephan.

not only *three horns* to be pluckt up before the little horn, but *three of the first horns*. We have therefore exhibited a catalogue of the ten kingdoms, as they stood in the eighth century; and therein are comprehended the three states or kingdoms, which constituted the pope's dominions, and which we conceive to be the same as Sir Isaac Newton did, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards*, and the *state* of *Rome*.

First, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, which of right belonged to the Greek emperors, and was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the instigation of the pope, was unjustly seized by (6) Aistulphus king of the Lombards, who thereupon thought of making himself master of Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pipin king of France, who marched into Italy, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate and other territories, which were not restored to the Greek emperor as in justice they ought to have been, but at the solicitation of the pope were given to St. Peter and his successors for a perpetual succession. Pope Zachary

Stephen II. Sir Is. Newton's *of the popes* in the first part of
 Observ. on Daniel Chap. 7. Vol. his General Hist. of Europe.
 taire of the origin of the power
 VOL. I. I i (7) Pla-

chary had acknowledged Pipin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovrain; and now Pipin in his turn bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon pope Stephen II, the successor of Zachary. "And so, as (7) " Platina says, the name of the exarchate, " which had continued from the time of Nar- " ses to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus " an hundred and seventy years, was extin- " guished." This was effected in the year 755 according to Sigonius. And henceforward the popes, being now become temporal princes, did no longer date their epistles and bulls by the years of the emperors reign, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards* was often troublesome to the popes: and now again (8) king Desiderius invaded the territories of pope Adaian I. So that the pope was obliged to have recourse again to the king of France, and earnestly invited Charles the great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come into Italy to his assistance. He came accordingly with a great army, being ambitious also himself of enlarg-
ing

(7) Platina *ibid.* p. 140.

(8) Sigonius *de regno Ital.* Lib. 3. Ann. 772—774. Platina in Adrian. I. *Abregé Chronologique* par Mezeray, Charle-

magne, Roy 23. Ann. 772—774. Sir If. Newton's *Observ.* on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 80.

(9) Atque hic quidem finis regni Longobardorum in Italia fuit,

ing his dominions in Italy, and conquered the Lombards, and put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations of his father Pipin, but also made an addition of other countries to them, as Corfica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Sabin territory, the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuscany which belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of these donations he signed himself, and caused them to be signed by the bishops, abbats, and other great men then present, and laid them so signed upon the altar of St. Peter. And this (9) was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their possessing Italy, and in the year of Christ 774.

Thirdly, the *state of Rome*, though subject to the popes in things spiritual, was yet in things temporal governed by the senate and people, who after their defection from the eastern emperors, still retained many of their old privileges, and elected both the western emperor and the popes. After (1) Charles the great had
overthrown

fuit, anno postquam Italiam occupaverant, ducentesimo sexto, Christi vero septingentesimo septuagesimo quarto. Sigonius

in fine libri tertii.

(1) Sigonius de regno Ital. Lib. 4. Ann. 774. Mezeray

ibid.

I i 2

(2) Sigonius

overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he came again to Rome, and was there by the pope, bishops, abbats, and people of Rome, chosen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honor and power next to emperor. He then settled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but after a few years, the (2) Romans desirous to recover their liberty, conspired against pope Leo III, accused him of many great crimes, and imprisoned him. His accusers were heard on a day appointed before Charles and a council of French and Italian bishops: but the pope, without pleading his own cause or making any defense, was acquitted, his accusers were slain or banished, and he himself was declared superior to all human judicature. And thus the foundation was laid for the absolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles in return was chosen emperor of the west. However (3) after the death of Charles the great, the Romans again conspired against the pope; but Lewis the pious, the son and successor of Charles, acquitted him again.

In

(2) Sigonius *ibid.* Ann. 798
—801. Platina in Leo III. Me-
zeray *ibid.* Ann. 799, &c. Sir

If. Newton *ibid.* Voltaire *of the
revival of the empire of the west,*
in the first part of his General
Hist.

In the mean while Leo was dangerously ill: which as soon as the Romans his enemies perceived, they rose again, burnt and plundered his villa's, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things they complained were taken from them by force; but they were repressed by some of the emperor's troops. The same (4) emperor Lewis the pious, at the request of pope Paschal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the see of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation: and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy containing part of Tuscany and Campania, Ravenna with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuscany and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all these are granted to the pope and his successors to the end of the world, *ut in suo detineant jure, principatu, atque ditione*, that they should hold them in their own right, principality, and dominion. These, as we conceive, were *the three horns, three of the first horns*, which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath in a manner pointed himself out for the person by wearing *the triple crown*.

4. In

Hist. of Europe.

(3) Sigonius *ibid.* Ann. 814, Sir Is. Newton's *Observ. on Daniel*, Chap. 7. p. 88.

815.

4. In other respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that if exquisite fitness of application may assure us of the true sense of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the person. He is *a little horn*: And the power of the popes was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable in comparison with others of the ten horns.——*He shall be divers from the first*: (ver. 24.) The Greek and Arabic translate it, that (5) he shall exceed in wickedness all before him; and so most of the fathers, who made use only of the Greek translation, understood it; but it rather signifies that his kingdom shall be of a different nature and constitution: And the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, being an ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as a civil and temporal authority.——*And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man*: (ver. 8.) To denote his cunning and foresight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own interests: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almost passed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker*

(5) ὁς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας omnes prædecessores suos superabit. Arab. Gr. qui malis

(6) Sive

overlooker or overseer, ἐπισκοπος or bishop in the litteral sense of the word.—*He had a mouth speaking very great things:* (ver. 8, 20.) And who hath been more noisy and blustering than the pope, especially in former ages, boasting of his supremacy, thundring out his bulls and anathema's, excommunicating princes, and absolving subjects from their allegiance?—*His look was more stout than his fellows:* (ver. 20.) And the pope assumes a superiority not only over his fellow bishops but even over crowned heads, and requires his foot to be kissed, and greater honors to be paid to him than to kings and emperors themselves.—*And he shall speak great words against the most High,* (ver. 25.) or as (6) Symmachus interprets it, *he shall speak great words as the most High*; setting up himself above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himself godlike attributes and titles of *holiness* and *infallibility*, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and open violation of reason and scripture, insulting men, and blaspheming God. In Gratian's Decretals the pope hath the title of *God* given to him.—*And he shall wear out the saints of the most*

(6) Sive ut interpretatus est loquetur. Hieron. Comment. Vol. Symmachus: sermones quasi Deus 3. p. 1103. Edit. Benedict.

most High; by wars and massacres and inquisitions, persecuting and destroying the faithful servants of Jesus and the true worshippers of God, who protest against his innovations, and refuse to comply with the idolatry practised in the church of Rome.——

And he shall think to change times and laws; appointing fasts and feasts, canonizing saints, granting pardons and indulgences for sins, instituting new modes of worship, imposing new articles of faith, injoining new rules of practice, and reversing at pleasure the laws both of God and men.——

And they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. *A time*, all agree, signifies a year; and *a time and times and the dividing of time*, or *half a time*, are three years and a half. So long and no longer, as the Romanists conceive, the power of Antichrist will continue; but it is impossible for all the things, which are predicted of Antichrist, to be fulfilled in so short a space of time; and neither is Antichrist or the little horn a single man, but a kingdom. Single men are not the subjects of this prophecy, but kingdoms. The *four kings* (ver. 17.) are not four single kings, but kingdoms; and so the *ten horns* or *kings* (ver. 24.) are not ten single kings, but kingdoms; and so likewise *the little horn*

horn is not a single king, but a kingdom, not a single man, but a succession of men, exercising such powers, and performing such actions, as are here described. We must therefore compute the time according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language. *A time*, then, *and times*, and *half a time* are three years and a half: and the ancient Jewish year consisting of twelve months, and each month of thirty days, *a time and times and half a time*, or three years and a half, are reckoned in the Revelation (XI. 2, 3. XII. 6, 14.) as equivalent to *forty and two months*, or *a thousand two hundred and threescore days*: and a day in the stile of the prophets is a year; *I have appointed thee each day for a year*, saith God to Ezekiel; (IV. 6.) and it is confessed, that *the seventy weeks* in the ninth chapter of Daniel are weeks of years; and consequently *1260 days* are *1260 years*. So long Antichrist or the little horn will continue: but from what point of time the commencement of these 1260 years is to be dated, is not so easy to determin. It should seem that they are to be computed from the full establishment of the power of the pope, and no less is implied in the expression *given into his hand*. Now the power of the pope, as a horn or temporal prince, it hath been shown,

shown, was established in the eighth century: and 1260 years from that time will lead us down to about the year of Christ 2000, or about the 6000th year of the world: and there is an (7) old tradition both among Jews and Christians, that at the end of six thousand years the Messiah shall come, and the world shall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one shall cease, and the reign of the saints upon earth shall begin. But as (8) Irenæus saith in a like case, it is surer and safer to wait for the completion of the prophecy, than to conjecture and to divine above it. When the end shall come, then we shall know better whence to date the beginning.

V. All these kingdoms will be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. *I beheld, saith Daniel, (ver. 9, 10.) till the thrones were cast down, or rather (9) till the thrones were set, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued* and

(7) S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 15. cum notis Cotelerii. Burnet's Theory B. 3. ch. 5.

(8) ασφαλεστερον εν και ακινδυνοτερον, το περιμενεν την εκδοσιν

της προφητειας, η το καταγοχα-
ζεσθαι και καταμαλινεσθαι. Cer-
tius ergo et sine periculo est,
sustinere ad impletionem pro-
phetiæ, quam suspicari et di-
vinare.

and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministred unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, or the judges did sit, and the books were opened. These metaphors and figures are borrowed from the solemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the consistory sat, with his assessors seated on each side of him in the form of a semicircle, and the people standing before him: and from this description again was borrowed the description of the day of judgment in the New Testament.

I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. (ver. 11.) The beast will be destroyed *because of the great words which the horn spake*, and the destruction of the beast will also be the destruction of the horn; and consequently the horn is a part of the fourth beast, or of the Roman empire.

As

vinare. Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 448. Edit. Grabe.

(9) Donec throni posita sunt, Vulg. *ὡς ὅτε οἱ θρόνοι στεθῶσιν.* Sept. Videbam subsellia posita

esse. Syr. sedes positæ fuerunt. Arab. and the same word is used in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jer. I. 15. *they shall set every one his throne.*

(1) See

As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. (ver. 12.) When the dominion was taken away from the other beasts, their bodies were not destroyed; they were suffered to continue still in being: but when the dominion shall be taken away from this beast, his body shall totally be destroyed; because other kingdoms succeeded to those, but none other earthly kingdom shall succeed to this.

I saw in the night-visions, and behold, one like the son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. (ver. 13.) How strange and forced, how absurd and unworthy of Grotius is it to apply this to the Romans, which hath always been, and can only be properly understood of the Messiah? From hence *the son of man* came to be a (1) known phrase for the Messiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and used so frequently in the gospels: and our Saviour intimates himself to be this very son of man in saying (Matth. XXVI. 64, 65.) *Hereafter shall ye see the*

(1) See Jewish authors cited in his *Defense of Christianity* even by Grotius and Bp. Chandler in Chap. 2. Sect. 1. p. 108. 3d Edit.
(2) Mede's

the son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; and thereupon he was charged by the high-priest with having spoken blasphemy.

And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. (ver. 14.) All these kingdoms shall in their turns be destroyed, but the kingdom of the Messiah shall stand for ever: and it was in allusion to this prophecy, that the angel said of Jesus before he was conceived in the womb, (Luke I. 33.) *He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.*

After what manner these great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to say, as God hath not been pleased to reveal it. We see the remains of the ten horns, which arose out of the Roman empire. We see the little horn still subsisting, though not in full strength and vigor, but as we hope upon the decline, and tending towards a dissolution. And having seen so many of these particulars accomplished, we can have no reason to doubt that the rest also will be fulfilled in due season, though we

cannot frame any conception how Christ will be manifested in glory, how the little horn with the body of the fourth beast will be given to the burning flame, or how the saints will take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever. It is the nature of such prophecies not to be perfectly understood, till they are fulfilled. The best comment upon them will be their completion.

It may yet add some farther light to these prophecies, if we compare this and the former together; for comparing scripture with scripture is the best way to understand both the one and the other. What was represented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a *great image*, was represented again to Daniel by *four great wild beasts*: and the beasts degenerate, as the metals in the image grow worse and worse, the lower they descend.

This image's head was of fine gold, and the first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings; and these answer to each other; and both represented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians: but it appeared in splendor and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its flourishing condition; the *plucking* of its *wings*, and its humiliation were shown to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

The

The breast and arms of silver, and the second beast like a bear were designed to represent the second kingdom, or that of the Medes and Persians. The *two arms* are supposed to denote the two people; but some farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people rising up above the other people, and of the conquest of three additional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called *inferior*, or worse than the former; and to Daniel it was described as very cruel, *Arise, devour much flesh*.

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was represented by *the belly and thighs of brass*, and by *the third beast like a leopard with four wings of a fowl*. It was said to Nebuchadnezzar, that *it should bear rule over all the earth*; and in Daniel's vision, *dominion was given to it*. The *four heads* signify Alexander's four successors; but the *two thighs* can only signify the two principal of them, the Seleucidæ, and Lagidæ, the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

The legs of iron, and the fourth beast with great iron teeth, correspond exactly; and as *iron breaketh in pieces all other metals*, so the fourth beast *devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it*; and they

they were both therefore equally proper representatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was stronger and more powerful than all the former kingdoms. The *ten toes* too and the *ten horns* were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms, which arose out of the division of the Roman empire; but all that relates to *the little horn* was revealed only to Daniel, as a person more immediately interested in the fate of the church.

The *stone*, that was cut out of the mountain without hands, and became itself a mountain, and filled the whole earth, is explained to be a kingdom, which shall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting. In like manner, *one like the son of man* came to the ancient of days, and was advanced to a kingdom, which shall prevail likewise over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting.

Such concord and agreement is there between these prophecies of Daniel, which remarkable as they are in many things, are in nothing more remarkable, than that they comprehend so many distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all

all things. They are truly, as (9) Mr. Mede called them "*the sacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy*, a prophetic chronology of times measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, until the mystery of God should be finished." They are as it were the great outlines, the rest mostly are filling up the parts: and as these will cast light upon the subsequent prophecies, so the subsequent prophecies will reflect light upon them again.

Daniel was *much troubled*, (ver. 28.) and *his countenance changed in him* at the foresight of the calamities to be brought upon the church by the little horn: *but he kept the matter in his heart*. Much more may good men be grieved at the sight of these calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedness in the world: but let them *keep it in their heart*, that a time of just retribution will certainly come. The proof may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promise; (ver. 26, 27.) *The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the*

(9) Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 654.

end. *And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.*

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